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PRESENTED BY

CONSPIRACY

OF THE

SPANIARDS AGAINST VENICE,

AND OF

JOHN LEWIS FIESCO

AGAINST

GENOA.

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BOSTON:

HILLIARD, GRAY, LITTLE & WILKINS.

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1828.

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DISTRICT OF MASSACHUSETTS, TO WIT :

District Clerk's Office.

Be it remembered, that on the eleventh day of March, A. D. 1828, in the fifty-second year of the Independence of the United States of America, HILLIARD, GRAY, LITTLE & WILKINS, of the said district, have deposited in this Office, the Title of a Book, the right whereof they claim as Proprietors, in the words following, *to wit* :

"Conspiracy of the Spaniards against Venice, and of John Lewis Fiesco against Genoa."

In conformity to the act of the Congress of the United States, entitled, "An act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of maps, charts, and books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the times therein mentioned;" and also to an act entitled, "An act supplementary to an act, entitled, an act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of maps, charts and books to the authors and proprietors of such copies during the times therein mentioned; and extending the benefits thereof to the arts of designing, engraving and etching historical and other prints."

JOHN W. DAVIS, *Clerk of the District of Massachusetts.*

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Mrs. E. S. Brinton
MAR 27 1908

NOTE.

THE account of the conspiracy of the Spaniards against Venice, written by the abbe Real, has been considered one of the most interesting works ever published. Charles Butler, author of "Reminiscences," who was requested by a lady to prescribe for her a course of historical reading, places it in the list of books which he recommended. The French tragedy of "Manlius," written by Lafosse, and the English tragedy of "Venice Preserved," written by Otway, are founded on events which it relates.

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INTRODUCTION.

No enterprise, in which men can be engaged, calls into action such elevated faculties as a conspiracy. Courage, prudence, and fidelity, all equally essential, are qualities rare in their nature ; but it is still more rare to find them united in the same individual. As men naturally flatter themselves that they are more beloved than they really are, especially when they deserve, and have endeavored to inspire esteem, some leaders of conspiracies rely implicitly upon the attachment of their associates ; but the most ardent attachment is seldom stronger than the fear of death. And, moreover, extreme warmth of attachment is of itself too apt to confuse the judgment in unexpected occurrences ; it is incom-

patible with the necessary discretion ; and generally those who are excessively anxious to accomplish an object are too unable to conceal their anxiety.

If, from the known prudence of a conspirator, reliance may be placed on his discretion, he will not, for that very reason, engage in such an undertaking so zealously as others ; he will perceive the magnitude and probability of the danger to which he exposes himself, and will provide in the outset the means of retreat ; he will be apt to reflect that the advantages he may derive are uncertain, and that, if he makes a disclosure, he may be sure of safety and reward.

Besides, the talents of men are, for the most part, the result of their experience ; and they rarely reason correctly in the first important affair in which they engage. The wisest are those who profit by the errors they have committed, and deduce from their consequences, rules for the government of their future conduct. But as there are no points of resemblance, whether the danger or the difficulty be considered, between a conspiracy and any

other affair whatever, the experience, which may be otherwise acquired, can be of no use in the conduct of an enterprise of this description. To enable an associate in a conspiracy to avoid committing an error, he must have been engaged in one previously ; but it seldom happens that the same man is concerned in two. If the first succeeds, the advantages he derives from it generally relieve him from the necessity of exposing himself again to the same dangers ; if it fails, he perishes ; or, if he escapes, he will rarely be willing to incur, a second time, the same peril.

Furthermore, it must be observed that, however strong may be their hatred of tyrants, men always love themselves more than they hate others. It is not enough that every conspirator is in fact faithful, each must also be convinced that all his associates will be equally faithful ; and a leader must have regard to all the panic terrors, and ridiculous apprehensions which may seize them, as well as to the real difficulties which he may have to encounter, either being alike capable of

ruining his enterprise. Add to this, that a word spoken of something else, a gesture made without motive, may excite suspicion of discovery, and precipitate the execution; that a circumstance of not the slightest importance will sometimes frighten men for no other reason than because it was unexpected; and that men are so constituted that they always apprehend their secret is known, and every thing said or done in their presence leads them to suspect they are discovered. He who is conscious of guilt is startled at every thing.

If these difficulties are almost insurmountable in conspiracies against a single person, how much greater must they be in conspiracies aimed against a large number at once, for instance a city or a kingdom, and which of course require more time to arrange, and more persons to execute them.

These considerations have always led me to regard this kind of enterprise as furnishing the most instructive portions of history; and have induced me to give to the public an account of the conspiracy formed, in 1618,

against Venice, by an ambassador from Spain to that republic.*

My judgment may possibly be influenced by love of the subject on which I have undertaken to write ; but I frankly avow that it appears to me that no where can we, so well as in such enterprises, see how much prudence, and how much chance avails in human affairs ; nor learn the utmost reach of the powers of the mind, and its various limits ; its highest elevations, and its most secret weaknesses ; the variety of considerations necessary in governing men ; the difference between commendable ingenuity, and reprehensible intrigue, between dexterity and cunning. And if malignity is never more hateful than when it makes a bad use of the most excellent qualities, the reader of this history must

* This conspiracy is spoken of in the history of Nani, book III, page 156, and in the fifth volume of the *Mercure Francois*, for the year 1618, page 38, where may be seen a letter from Venice, dated the 21st of May of that year. The principal authorities for this history, such as the statement of the marquis of Bedmar, the long despatch of the captain, James Pierre, to the duke of Ossuna, the deposition of Jaffier, the criminal proceedings against the conspirators, and several others, may be found among the manuscripts in the national library ; and the *Squittinio della Liberta Veneta* among the printed works. Divers other manuscripts have also been consulted.

feel unutterable horror when he witnesses the sublimest faculties of man devoted to the accomplishment of a detestable purpose. Thus an ancient Grecian, seeing a criminal, suffering under the torture, adhere, with wonderful constancy, to a falsehood, could not avoid exclaiming, "O the wretch! to prostitute so noble a faculty to so bad a purpose."

CONSPIRACY,

&c. &c.

THE controversy between the holy pontiff, Paul V, and the republic of Venice, having been terminated by the mediation of France, in a manner preserving to the holy See the honor due to it, and to the Venetians the glory they had merited, none but the Spaniards had reason to be dissatisfied. As they had declared for the Pope, and had offered to subjugate the Venetians, they were offended that he had entered into an arrangement without their participation ; but having discovered the secret of this arrangement, they were convinced that they had no cause of complaint against him, and that the slight they had experienced was to be attributed solely to the republic. It was, in fact, in compliance with the wishes of the Venetian senate, that they had been, in a measure, excluded from the mediation. This body insisted that they ought not to be umpires after having displayed so much partiality.

Whatever resentment they felt, they concealed it in their own bosoms during the reign of Henry IV.

The obligations of this prince to the Venetians were well known ; and the care which he had taken of their interests, in their controversy with the Pope, was not less so. But his death permitted the Spaniards to act with freedom, and they waited only for a pretext.

A troop of pirates, called *Uscoques*, had formed an establishment upon the territory of Austria, situated upon the Adriatic sea, near to the Venetians. They committed many outrages upon the citizens of the republic, but were protected by the archduke Ferdinand of Gratz, then sovereign of this territory and afterwards emperor. This prince was very religious, but his ministers shared in the booty of the pirates ; and, being devoted to Spain, they seized this occasion to avenge the wrongs which that nation had received from the Venetians.

The emperor Matthias, listening to the well-founded complaints of the republic, endeavored, by an arrangement made in February, 1612, to put an end to these disorders ; but this arrangement was so little regarded by the archduke, that an open war was the consequence, in which his success did not answer the hopes and expectations of the Spaniards.

The Venetians easily repaired the losses they had sustained in a few trifling engagements. Having nothing to fear from the Turks, they could carry on the war with less inconvenience than the archduke. This prince was urged by the emperor to make peace, because he apprehended an attack from the Grand

Seignor, upon Hungary, and because he found it necessary to expend large sums to gain his election as king of Bohemia, which took place soon after. The Spaniards would have cheerfully furnished him the means of continuing the contest ; but Charles Emmanuel, duke of Savoy, with whom they were then at war, kept them from dividing their forces ; and as the duke received large subsidies from the Venetians, the Spaniards were unable to detach him from them.

The council of Spain felt indignant at finding the Venetians so strong on all sides. The mild and pacific temper of Philip III, and of the duke of Lerma, his favorite, restrained them from adopting such measures as their feelings dictated ; but one of their ministers in Italy, of a disposition more enterprising and fearless, undertook to relieve their embarrassment.

This prince was don Alphonso de la Queva, marquis of Bedmar, ambassador resident at Venice, one of the ablest and most dangerous characters that Spain has ever produced. The writings which he has left show that, by deeply studying the ancient and modern historians, he had acquired all that was requisite to form an extraordinary man. He compared the events they related with those that happened in his own time. He noted with exactness wherein they were different, and wherein they were similar ; and considered what influence the particulars in which they differed must have upon those in which they agreed. He generally formed his opinion of the re-

sult of a project, as soon as he had learned the origin and the plan of it. If he found, by the event, that his opinion was not correct, he ascended to the source of his error, and endeavored to discover by what he had been deceived. By studies of this nature he had learned what are the true methods, the certain means, and the important circumstances which, almost always, ensure success in great designs. This constant practice of reading, of meditation, and of observation upon human affairs, had raised so high his reputation for sagacity, that his conjectures concerning the future were regarded, in the council of Spain, with almost as much respect as prophecies.

To this intimate acquaintance with the nature of human affairs, he added singular talents for directing them ; an ability to speak and write with inexpressible sweetness ; an unerring instinct in judging of men ; an air of openness and gaiety, evincing more animation than gravity. He was so free apparently from dissimulation as to seem a model of ingenuousness. His disposition was at once complaisant and engaging, and he concealed his thoughts and sentiments the more perfectly because all fancied they could divine them. His manners were so affectionate and insinuating, that he drew from the closest bosoms their dearest secrets ; and he exhibited all the appearances of composure and tranquillity of mind in the midst of the most cruel distractions.

At that period, the ambassadors of Spain usually governed the courts to which they were sent ; and

the marquis of Bedmar had been selected, in 1507, for that of Venice, as the most difficult of foreign stations, where neither women, monks nor favorites had any influence. The council of Spain were so well satisfied with his conduct, that, however desirous they might be of employing him elsewhere, they could not, even after he had resided there six years, resolve to recal him.

His long residence at Venice had enabled him to study the principles of the government, to discover its most secret springs, to perceive its strength and its weakness, its advantages and its defects. Apprehending that the archduke would be obliged to conclude a peace, which could not be otherwise than disgraceful to Austria, as she was evidently in the wrong, he determined to devise some means to prevent it.

He reflected that such was the condition of Venice that it was not impossible to become master of it, by means of his confidential agents in the city, and the forces which were under his control. The armies it had sent forth had exhausted it of arms, and still more of men capable of using them. As its naval force had never been in such excellent condition, the senate had never considered itself so formidable, and had never felt less fear. This fleet, however, strong as it was, dared not leave the coast of Istria, which was the seat of war. The army was also at a distance, and there was nothing at Venice to resist an attack from the naval force of Spain. To render such

an attack more sure of success, he proposed to gain possession of the principal posts, such as the square of St. Mark, and the arsenal ; and as it would be difficult to do this, while the city was in a state of tranquillity, he determined to set fire, at the same moment, to those parts which were most combustible, and to those which the citizens would be the most desirous of preserving.

He did not think it proper to state his design, in the beginning, to his master. He knew that princes are unwilling to commit themselves, in relation to such projects, until they are so far matured that nothing is necessary to their execution but an assurance that the enterprize will be acknowledged in case of success. He merely intimated to the duke of Uzeda, the principal secretary of state, that, perceiving the disgrace which the house of Austria had sustained, in the war of Friuli, from the insolent conduct of the Venetians, and that all the steps towards an accommodation, which had been taken at Vienna and elsewhere, had tended to aggravate it, he conceived himself placed in a situation where duty and policy obliged a faithful subject to resort to extraordinary measures to preserve his king and country from infamy otherwise inevitable ; that this duty particularly devolved upon him, on account of the employment he held, in which, having constantly in view the origin of the evil, he could, better than any other person, determine what remedy should be applied ; and that he should endeavor to perform this duty in a manner

worthy of the zeal which he felt for the honor of his master.

The duke of Uzeda, who was well acquainted with the character of the ambassador, perceived, at once, that he had in contemplation some important and perilous undertaking ; but as prudent men, until circumstances compel them, do not even avow their knowledge of such enterprizes, he did not communicate his suspicions to the first minister, and replied, in general terms, to the marquis of Bedmar, that he applauded his zeal and placed implicit reliance upon his well-known discretion. The marquis, for he expected no other, was not surprised at receiving so cautious an answer ; and immediately began to make such arrangements as were best calculated to secure, by success, the approbation and acknowledgement of his superiors.

Never was there a monarchy so absolute as the senate of Venice. A marked distinction was made, even in the most trivial matters, between the nobility and the common people. None but nobles could be appointed commanders or governors of the dependent territories. The most powerful lords, and the principal magistrates of these territories, were obliged to regard them as sovereigns rather than governors ; and if ever the republic gave the command of its separate armies to foreigners, their powers were so limited that they were compelled to be guided by the opinions of the general in chief, and had little to do but to execute his orders.

As war always affords a plausible pretext for taxing the people, that with the Uscoques gave the nobility, by whom it was conducted, an excellent opportunity to enrich themselves. This war was carried on at an enormous expense. Besides the money expended in Piedmont, it became necessary, in the end, to maintain a third army, in Lombardy, to oppose the governor of Milan, who threatened to make a diversion in favor of the archduke. The justice of the cause of the republic emboldened the commanders to resort to new modes of raising money, but did not render the people more patient in suffering. The exactions became so excessive, that the marquis of Bedmar had reason to believe that the revolution, which he wished to effect, would be as agreeable to the people as it would be destructive to the nobility.

There were many persons, even among the nobility, who felt no affection for the government. These were the partizans of the court of Rome. Some of them, and indeed the greater number, ambitious and revengeful, were dissatisfied and incensed because the affairs of the republic, during the controversy with that court, had been administered contrary to their advice. They were ready to do and to suffer any thing to deprive of power those who possessed it; and they witnessed with pleasure the misfortunes of the state, considering them the consequences of measures which they had condemned. Others, simple and ignorant, chose to be more catholic than the pope himself. As he had, in the peace which had

been concluded, relinquished a part of his pretensions, they supposed that he had been induced to do so from policy ; and that, as he might have acted with a mental reservation, there was reason to fear that the sentence of excommunication yet remained in force in the intention of his holiness. Of this number were several senators, as destitute of fortune as of intellect. These, in the sequel, were very serviceable to the marquis, who convinced them, by the benefits he conferred, that, after this affair, no one could be a Venetian with a safe conscience.

Although the nobles were strictly forbidden to have any intercourse with foreigners, the marquis had found means to establish a confidential correspondence with the most restless and discontented. If they had a near relative in any of the convents, any mistress, or any ecclesiastic, who was intimate with their families, he spared no pains nor expense to become acquainted with them ; he made them presents, which, though they generally consisted merely of the curiosities of foreign countries, were nevertheless highly valuable. These presents, spontaneously conferred, led those who received them to anticipate even greater ; they therefore eagerly answered all his inquiries ; and took pains to acquire information to communicate to him. The rewards he bestowed surpassed their expectation, and they labored incessantly to engage their superiors in the same secret intercourse, until success crowned their exertions. The poverty of the nobles had doubtless some influ-

ence ; they probably could not see, without envy, their dependants growing richer than themselves by means of presents conferred merely because they were their dependants. However this may be, none of the deliberations of the senate were, afterwards, unknown to the ambassador of Spain ; he was informed of all its decisions ; and such as related to the war were communicated to the generals of the archduke before those of the republic had received an order to execute them.

Though possessed of these means of gaining intelligence, a considerable number of troops was still necessary to enable him to execute his enterprise ; but as there was a powerful Spanish army in Lombardy, he had no apprehension that men would be wanting, provided the governor of Milan would enter into his designs. The marquis of Iniosa, who then held that office, had too intimate a correspondence with the duke of Savoy to be trusted with safety. He had just concluded with that duke the treaty of Asti, of which France and the Venetians were mediators. The ambassador, who knew that this negotiation would not be approved, in Spain, wrote home, advising the recal of Iniosa, and, at the same time, requested don Pedro of Toledo, marquis of Villa-franca, his intimate friend, to solicit the government of Milan. Don Pedro, about the end of the year 1615, received orders to set out immediately to take the place of Iniosa ; and the instant after his arrival at Milan, he gave notice thereof to the senate of Venice, by the marquis of Lara.

The ambassador communicated his project to this marquis in the manner which he judged best calculated to induce him to approve it ; and he charged him particularly to ascertain whether the new governor could spare him fifteen hundred of his best troops, whenever they might be wanted. Don Pedro, charmed with the project, resolved to afford all the assistance he could, without exposing himself to certain ruin should it fail. He dispatched the marquis of Lara, a second time, to Venice, to communicate this resolution to the ambassador ; but, at the same time, he besought him to consider that he could not send that number of troops without selecting all that were good, and that, should they be lost by the failure of the enterprise, he would incur the severest censure, for having exposed to such imminent danger the bravest soldiers of his army. He would, however, spare all that he could, and would select them so carefully that he would be answerable for their fidelity.

Nothing was more important to the designs of the ambassador than to prevent the restoration of harmony between the contending powers. With this view, he persuaded the marquis of Lara to make the most unreasonable propositions in behalf of the governor of Milan. The senate, as was foreseen, rejected them with indignation, and declined negotiating with him. Don Pedro, on his part, omitted nothing calculated to embroil affairs still more. The duke of Mantua felt little inclination to pardon his rebellious subjects, which he had engaged to do by the treaty

of Asti. Means were used to render him obstinate on this point, and to induce him to continue, as he had begun, to inflict punishment upon them. Propositions were made, by the agents of Spain, to the duke of Savoy, for the execution of this treaty, which they well knew he would not accept; and they delayed disbanding their troops, which he had done and they ought to have done, under the pretence that Spain could no longer, with honor, refuse to take part in the war of Friuli: the Venetian army had passed the Lizonzo, and besieged Gradisca, the capital of the territories of the arch-duke.

The council of Spain, which had hitherto appeared neutral, perceiving this prince in danger, threatened to declare in his favor. At this time, the misunderstanding which, since the contest between the son and brother of Charles the fifth, for the succession to the empire, had divided the Spanish and German branches of the house of Austria, had been adjusted. The interest which the Spaniards took in this war was the first mark of their reconciliation. Don Pedro ordered colonel Gambalotta to advance, with his troops, towards Crema; and he caused twenty-four pieces of battering artillery to be mounted at Pavia; which were soon, as he declared, to be sent with a body of eight thousand troops under the command of don Sancho de Luna. In another quarter, the viceroy of Naples, who was cruising in the Mediterranean with a Spanish fleet, threatened to attack Villafrauca, belonging to the duke of Savoy. He prevent-

ed the arrival, by sea, of all assistance to the republic, and was assiduous in making arrangements to enter the gulf, for the avowed purpose of keeping in check the Venetian fleet.

The ministers of Venice having remonstrated to all the European Courts against this violent proceeding, the marquis of Bedmar undertook to justify it. He considered it also important to his design, to strike at the root of the veneration, which had, for so many centuries, been felt throughout Europe for this republic, as the oldest and freest of all nations. Its freedom and independence had lately been vindicated and more vaunted than ever, in several publications, written during the controversy with the pope, which were yet considered unanswerable, although many replies had been written by able men of the opposite party.

The ambassador, undertaking to examine these publications himself, refuted, in a few chapters, the numerous volumes of the Venetian authors, without deigning to name one of them. And as, in matters of this nature, there is no question which an ingenious disputant may not render doubtful, he, under the pretext of establishing the authority of the emperors over Venice, demonstrated that the independence of this republic was but a chimera, and that its dominion over the sea was not better founded. As it was not consistent with his purpose to be known as the author of this work, he caused it to be published so privately that it was not known, during his life, that he

had any share in composing it. That he was not suspected, appears strange ; but the truth probably is, that he had not yet become fully known to the Venetians. His lively and impetuous deportment, which he sought not to restrain but chose to display on all occasions, prevented them from imagining that a man of such character could be the author of a political satire of so much subtlety and refinement. Candor and sincerity seemed to pervade it throughout ; and the censures of the encroachments of the Venetians, which were occasionally introduced, were expressed with such apparent moderation, as sufficed to render them plausible. This work, the title of which was *Squittinio della Liberta Veneta*, was the universal topic of conversation.

As the author was unknown, suspicion naturally fell upon the court of Rome, whence the preceding publications, on that side of the question, had emanated. The wise men of the Senate imagined that the world felt the force of it as they did ; it dismayed them like the loss of a battle ; and father Paul was directed to examine it. This man, who had treated with ridicule the other writers of that party, declared that no reply ought to be made to the last, for none could be made without disclosing facts which prudence required should remain buried in the obscurity of antiquity ; that, nevertheless, if in the opinion of the Senate, it best comported with the dignity of the republic to resent this outrage, he would undertake to give the court of Rome so much trouble in defending

itself, that it would think no more of attacking others. This intimation was listened to in the first warmth of resentment, and father Paul had the gratification of publishing his History of the Council of Trent, a work dear to his heart, which otherwise would not have appeared during his life time.

The campaign of the year 1616, having, in the meantime, closed, without any decisive advantage to either side, the duke of Savoy and the Venetians, who were unwilling to hazard, in a second, the glory they had acquired, empowered Gritti, the Venetian ambassador at Madrid, to renew the negotiation. The Spaniards, irritated by the resistance they had met with, made such unreasonable propositions that nothing was accomplished. Gradisca was yet blockaded ; the war continued through the winter ; and the two armies took the field in the spring, displaying a degree of animation and ardor that promised more brilliant exploits than those of the preceding year. The truce between Holland and Spain having enabled the former to dispense with the services of her troops, and obliged the French and German adventurers to seek employment elsewhere, the counts of Nassau and Lievestien brought eight thousand Hollanders, or Walloons, to the assistance of the republic. The Spaniards complained loudly to the pope against the Venetians, for exposing Italy to the infection of heresy, by introducing these soldiers ; but the Venetian ambassador easily convinced him that the complaints of the Spaniards were caused, not so much by their re-

gard for religion, as by their chagrin at seeing two great republics uniting their forces in opposition to them.

The marquis of Bedmar would have been not a little embarrassed had the pope obliged the Venetians to dismiss these heretics. As soldiers, for the most part, have only their personal interest in view, when they enter into the service of a foreign prince, he hoped to induce the chiefs of these mercenaries to embark in his designs, by the offer of higher wages and the allurements of the pillage of Venice. To negotiate with them, he selected an aged French gentleman, named Nicholas de Renault, a man of intelligence and discretion, who had taken refuge in Venice, for some reason which no one had been able to discover. The marquis of Bedmar had often seen him at the palace of the French ambassador, where he resided. In several conversations, which they accidentally had with each other, Renault discovered that the world had not estimated too highly the intelligence and ability of the marquis ; and the latter, sensible of the advantage of having such a friend in the suite of the ambassador of France, formed an intimate connection with him.

This man, though extremely poor, esteemed virtue higher than riches ; but he loved glory more than virtue ; and, could he find no innocent means of acquiring it, there were none, however criminal, which he was not willing to resort to. In perusing the ancient writers, he had imbibed that rare indifference to

life and to death which, more than any thing else, incites to extraordinary enterprises ; and he never ceased to regret those illustrious ages, in which the talents of individuals controlled the destiny of nations, and when those, who possessed them, were never without the means nor opportunities to display them.

The marquis of Bedmar, who had deeply studied his character, and had need of a man, to direct his enterprise, in whom he could entirely confide, said to him, when he disclosed it, that he had fixed his thoughts upon him, the moment the project first entered his mind. This remark bound Renault to him more firmly than the warmest praises could have done. His advanced age did not deter him from joining in the plot ; the less of life that remained to him, the less he had to risk ; and he thought he could not better employ the sad remnant of his years than in hazarding them to render his name immortal. The marquis gave him the control of sufficient funds to negotiate with the Dutch commanders. He charged him not to disclose the enterprise, at present, but merely to intimate, that affairs were in such disorder that the Spanish ambassador at Venice foresaw that a time might arrive when his person would be in danger from the fury of the populace ; and that, for his own protection, he wished to secure the services of a considerable number of faithful and resolute friends. This pretext was a gross one ; but the slightest disguise is of great use, in affairs of this kind. It imports little that it is known that something is conceal-

ed, if the real secret is not discovered. In this way he hoped that he might seduce the choicest portion of the Venetian army, and that it would then be left so weak that Don Pedro could easily defeat it, on its way to Venice, should the senate recal it to oppose the conspirators.

The navy was to be feared more than the army. It had been accustomed to conquer, and could be much more readily recalled. The greater number of the sailors were natives of the republic ; and it could not be doubted that, on the discovery of the conspiracy, the fleet would hasten home. To expect that the Spanish fleet would defeat it, would be an unsafe reliance ; and it would not be prudent to commit, to the fortune of a battle, the success of an enterprise in other respects so hazardous. It was necessary to contrive means to render this fleet incapable of affording assistance.

The ambassador, not having had so much experience in naval affairs as the viceroy of Naples, who commanded the naval force of Spain, thought it his duty to consult him on this subject. This viceroy, who was to be a principal actor in the tragedy which the ambassador was preparing, was that duke of Ossuna, who was so celebrated for his gallantries, and was as enterprising as Don Pedro, or the Marquis of Bedmar. This resemblance of disposition had produced an intimate friendship between the three. Don Pedro and the duke of Ossuna had not the qualifications of cabinet politicians, and the duke even

sometimes committed eccentricities which might be called extravagances ; but the deference which both felt for the marquis of Bedmar supplied the place of that discretion which they wanted.

The profits which piracy yields, to those who pursue it under the protection of a powerful nation, had attracted to the court of Naples all the celebrated corsairs of the Mediterranean. The viceroy, who was fond of extraordinary projects, and rather prodigal than avaricious, protected them, not so much for the share which he received of their booty, as for the purpose of collecting around him a numerous body of such men as would be ready to perform whatever he should desire. He not only welcomed to his dominions those who came voluntarily ; but, whenever he heard of one who had more than ordinary reputation in his profession, he sought him out, and was so liberal of his favors that he attached him firmly to his person. He had, in this manner, secured the friendship of captain James Pierre, a Norman by birth, and so eminent in his profession, that others were proud of having learned it under his instruction.

The disposition of this captain did not partake of the barbarity which is characteristic of his occupation. Having acquired the means of living genteely, he resolved to quit it, though yet in the flower of his age ; and he chose, for his retreat, the territories of the duke of Savoy. This prince, enamoured of every species of extraordinary talent, and so much the more capable of appreciating it in others, as nature had

been liberal to himself, permitted the corsair, who passed for one of the bravest of men, to establish himself at Nice. Every officer, soldier, and sailor, who frequented this part of the country, rendered him the homage due to a chieftain. To them his counsels were oracles ; he was the sovereign arbiter of their disputes ; and they never ceased to admire a man who had quitted a pursuit, in which he was so well qualified to excel, and which is the most difficult of all to abandon.

Among his associates was one named Vincent Robert, of Marseilles, who, having landed at Sicily, where the duke of Ossuna was then viceroy, was so cordially welcomed that he enlisted in his service. The duke, understanding that he was a friend of the captain, complained to him, in good humour, that his friend, in selecting a retreat, had preferred the government of the duke of Savoy to his own, expressing, at the same time, a high respect for the courage of the captain, and for his experience in naval affairs, and declaring that he would omit nothing which could have the effect to attract to his court a man of such extraordinary merit. Robert gladly undertook to persuade him to repair thither ; and his efforts were so well assisted by the advances of the viceroy, that the captain at length repaired to Sicily, with his wife and children.

As he had never entirely banished the sea from his thoughts, the passion, which he had once felt for it, had not been extinguished. The galleons, which

the viceroy had lately built, were so fine, and several Turkish vessels were then at sea with such feeble convoy, that he could not resist the temptation they presented. And he had no occasion to regret that he yielded to it. He gained an immense booty ; and the duke of Ossuna, who, from that time, lived with him as with a brother, surrendered most of it to him, on condition that he would follow him to Naples, of which the king had just appointed him viceroy, and that he would make a voyage to Provence, to engage in his service the best of the sea-faring men with whom he was acquainted, on that coast. He brought back with him a sufficient number to man five large vessels, which belonged to the viceroy in person, and of which he had the sole direction. With this little fleet, he ravaged, with impunity, all the islands and shores of the Levant, and, at the close of his first cruise, he fought a great battle, in which he captured or sunk the whole of a large squadron of Turkish gallies.

It was at this period that the marquis of Bedmar, persuaded that the duke of Ossuna would cheerfully assist him, communicated to him his design. This duke, anxious to obtain the control of these seas, desired nothing more ardently than to ruin those who alone could dispute it with him, and who could not be beaten so easily as the Turks. He consulted the captain on the subject, and stated such difficulties as occurred to him. The captain did not think them insurmountable ; and after several days, which were

spent in private conference, he secretly quitted Naples, in a manner indicative of extreme precipitation and terror. The viceroy despatched messengers in every direction, except the one in which he fled, with orders to seize him dead or alive. His wife and children were imprisoned, and were apparently treated with extreme cruelty. All his property was confiscated ; and though the duke had long been known to be excessively passionate, yet the transports of rage which he exhibited on this occasion surprised all Naples. As the captain appeared not less excited, it was easily believed that a misunderstanding had taken place, and that he had been detected in some designs injurious to Spain, or to the interests of the duke. He returned to his former asylum.

The duke of Savoy was at open war with Spain, and had the reputation of a most generous prince. Though he had manifested some displeasure, when the captain quitted his dominions to settle in Sicily, yet the impostor did not hesitate to throw himself at his feet. He communicated to him several pretended designs of the viceroy against Venice, which, though atrocious, had nothing in common with the true one ; and observed that, as he could not engage in them with honor, he had resolved to take measures to escape from Naples, with his family and property ; but having learned that the viceroy had discovered his intention, he had been obliged to fly, in the greatest haste, leaving all that was dear to him in the power of the most cruel of men,

The duke of Savoy, touched with pity at this mournful recital, received him with open arms, assuring him that, his own interests and those of the Venetians being the same, he would reward the service he had rendered the common cause, if the Venetians did not. He added, that it was important that the senate should be informed, by himself, of the designs of the duke of Ossuna ; and, after having exhorted him to bear his misfortunes with fortitude, furnished him with every thing necessary, and made him a magnificent present, he sent him to Venice with letters of credit and of recommendation.

The Venetians were not less compassionate than the duke of Savoy. The flight, the poverty, the distress, the reputation of the captain, the hope that he would attract to their service the many brave men whom he had engaged in that of the duke of Ossuna, but particularly, the account which he gave of the designs of the duke, to which he contrived to give the appearance of truth : all spoke so powerfully in his favor, that they immediately gave him the command of a vessel. This was done contrary to the remonstrances of Contarini, ambassador at Rome, who, in his letters to the Senate, insisted that this man, having been in the service of the viceroy, should be regarded with suspicion. But, the Venetians, made credulous by their fears, disregarded this prudent advice. A short time afterwards, the fleet being at sea, the captain, aware of the importance of performing some signal exploit, in the service of the republic,

obtained permission to cruise against the *Uscoques*, and took such considerable prizes that, on his return, eleven vessels were added to the one he already commanded.

He gave an account of his good fortune to the duke of Ossuna, and observed, in the conclusion of his despatch, "If these simpletons continue to be as credulous as they have hitherto been, I dare assure your excellency that I shall not spend my time in vain in this country." At the same time, he wrote to his former companions, at Naples, inviting them to enter into the service of the republic. He did not find it difficult to persuade them. After his flight, the viceroy, pretending to suspect their fidelity, was, in his conduct towards them, as harsh as he had before been civil.

The duke of Ossuna complained loudly of the protection which the captain received from the republic. To retaliate, he collected around him the *Uscoques*, whom the Venetians had driven from their retreats. Under his protection, they again made cruises. They captured a large vessel, on the way from Corfu to Venice, and publicly sold their booty within his dominions. He violated the freedom of ports; made reprisals of great value for trifling injuries; refused, when ordered by Spain, to restore what he had seized; and published a manifesto justifying his disobedience. He sent a powerful fleet into the Adriatic, and caused the prizes it captured to be brought in triumph to Naples. In fine, he ruined

their commerce, injuring, at the same time, the Neapolitans themselves, who were interested in it ; and the farmers of the revenue daring to murmur, he threatened to hang them.

As war had not been declared between Spain and the republic, the Venetians were astonished at this bold and irregular conduct. It was generally imputed to the madness of the hot-brained duke of Ossuna ; but the more sagacious, knowing that such rash and lawless individuals are often designedly made use of, conjectured that the Spaniards were willing he should perform what they would be unwilling to avow or approve. In his familiar discourse, he frequently spoke of surprising the ports of Istria belonging to the republic ; of ravaging her islands ; and even of making, if he possibly could, an attack upon Venice. He often, with his courtiers, studied the plan of the city ; he caused exact maps to be made of its environs, and boats, brigantines, and other small vessels, adapted to canals, to be constructed ; he caused experiments to be made to ascertain what burden water of a given depth would sustain in boats of different sizes ; and he invented new machines to diminish the burden, and to facilitate the motion of boats. The Venetian minister at Naples sent home an exact account of all this, to the infinite despair of the marquis of Bedmar, who began to repent that he had united his destiny with that of a man so impetuous and heedless. But the result belied his fears.

The viceroy made all his preparations with so

much parade and publicity, that the Venetians could only laugh at his folly. Even the most intelligent could not believe that any thing serious was intended where every step was so ostentatiously taken. The duke continued to make his preparations at his leisure, and no one regarded them ; and his indiscretion, instead of ruining the enterprise, aided it more than even the circumspection of the marquis of Bedmar. Nevertheless the marquis determined to hasten the execution of it, either because he did not choose to give the Venetians leisure to reflect, or because his person was at all times exposed to danger. The Venetian fleet, having once offered battle to that of Spain, which declined engaging, and having ravaged the coasts of Pouilly, the populace of Venice became so insolent in their exultation, that the ambassador and his whole household would have been massacred, had not the magistrates sent him a guard.

The same day, he received news from the camp before Gradisca, which consoled him for what had happened. Renault informed him, that he found the commanders so happily disposed, that he had concluded his negotiation with little delay. The ambassador ordered him to repair, before he returned, to Milan ; and don Pedro received him with all those blandishments with which the great know so well how to impel their inferiors to hazard life in their service. They agreed that it was necessary to select some town on the continental territory of the Venetians, of which they might take possession at the same time

as of Venice. This, when in their power, would be a check upon the other towns in its neighbourhood ; would serve as a depot of arms to the Spanish troops that might be sent to attack those towns, and as a barrier to the Venetian army, should the republic be disposed to despatch it to protect them.

Renault passed through the principal towns and stopped some time at Crema, where he formed a party, with the aid of a French lieutenant, named John Berard, an Italian captain, and a lieutenant belonging to Provence, whom don Pedro had already engaged to favor his designs. These three men offered to conceal, in the city, five hundred Spaniards, without exciting the suspicion of the Venetian commander, and to take possession of it eight days afterwards. From the examination which Renault made upon the spot, he thought they might easily, with that number of men, perform what they promised. Nothing more was necessary than to cut the throats of a body of miserable recruits, who, all the regular troops being at Friuli or in the armies, had been detached from the militia of the country.

The duke of Ossuna had also stated to the marquis of Bedmar that it would be necessary to possess some place, belonging to the Venetians, upon the gulf, from which assistance and support could be given to the Uscoques and the archduke, and to which the Spanish fleet might retreat, should it, by any accident, be obliged to seek an asylum, when cruising in that sea. With this view, they selected Marano, a

strong place on an island near to Istria, which has a harbor capable of sheltering a large fleet. An Italian, named Mazza, who, for forty years, had been sergeant major there, exercised almost as much authority as the governor himself. Tempted by a large sum of money, and the promise of the chief command, this man engaged, whenever he should receive orders from the duke of Ossuna, to massacre the governor, and make himself master of the place, and hold it for the Spaniards. It was almost as easy for him to perform this promise, as to make it : the governor, who was the purveyor, Lorenzo Tiepolo, lived with him on the most familiar terms, and as, in time of war, his office of purveyor occupied much of his attention, he relinquished to the sergeant major, who was the oldest and most respectable officer in the garrison, the entire direction of the interior of the place.

Affairs being thus situated, the ambassador determined to enter upon the execution of the enterprise ; not because he could not, by deferring it longer, concert additional measures ; but because he was well aware that delay is often fatal to designs of this nature. It is impossible that all the various means, contrived to ensure success, should be capable, at any one moment, of rendering their most efficient aid ; some become less favorable while others are in preparation ; and when the leader of a conspiracy is once so fortunate as to have a sufficient number, at the same moment, present a favorable aspect, he

commits a capital fault in omitting to take advantage of the happy conjuncture.

It was of great importance to the honor of Spain, that, should the conspiracy fail, the part which her ambassador had acted should never be known. He therefore resolved not to disclose himself to any of the conspirators, except Renault and the captain. These two men were unknown to each other ; they visited him only when invited ; and, to prevent the possibility of their meeting, he had always taken care to invite them on different days. Should a discovery take place, it would be important to him that they had had no intercourse with each other. As that event was possible, it was highly desirable to him, that they should continue to perform, unknown to each other, their respective parts, as they had hitherto done ; but, after mature reflection, he concluded that this was impossible ; and, despairing of success in his design, if he did not establish a cordial understanding between them, he determined to do it, whatever the peril might be.

Both of these men had personal courage and discretion, but Renault valued himself principally upon his capacity of combining and disposing his arrangements in such manner, that the execution of an enterprise would be easy, and its success infallible. The captain, on the contrary, who was much younger, valued himself principally upon his power and skill in executing designs, and upon being a man of undaunted resolution. The marquis disclosed to him

the various negotiations which Renault had successfully concluded ; his fertility in devising expedients adapted to every conjuncture ; his eloquence and address in gaining partizans, his ability to write well, a talent of much importance, as it was necessary to be constantly informed of the condition of the fleets, of the provinces, and of the armies. He added that he imagined a man of this description would afford great relief and assistance to the captain ; that he was an old man of much experience, who was destitute neither of courage nor resolution ; but his age, and his studious, contemplative habits, rendered him incapable of participating with the captain, in the glory of executing the enterprise. To Renault he merely observed that the captain was the agent of the duke of Ossuna ; and as the duke was a principal in their design, he could not, with propriety, conceal any thing from his confidant. He besought him to tolerate the manners of the corsair, so far as should be necessary in the pursuit of their object, and, by treating him with deference, to conciliate a man who was, to the last degree, proud and presumptuous.

The marquis of Bedmar having taken such pains to prepare these men to live harmoniously together, his astonishment was extreme when, at their first meeting at his house, he saw them embrace affectionately, the instant they cast their eyes upon each other. It is not possible that any mind should be so calm and firm as to judge rationally of circumstances that produce surprise and astonishment. The first thought

of the ambassador was, that he was betrayed. As he had supposed that these men had no knowledge of each other, he could not comprehend why they should have concealed from him the fact that they were well acquainted. This mystery was soon explained. He was told that they had often met at the house of a famous Greek, who, though a courtesan, was a woman of extraordinary merit. Of this no other proof was necessary than the fact, that she had, as each had requested, faithfully forborne to mention their names. This fidelity appeared to them the more remarkable, as she was not ignorant that each had formed a very high opinion of the other.

The ambassador, recovering from his surprise, was rejoiced to find that the cordial friendship between them, which he so ardently desired, was already established. In the course of this interview, each acknowledged that he had resolved to engage the other in the enterprise. As they were much occupied with their project, they had sometimes, in the conversations they had held together, discoursed on topics of this nature, while speaking of the affairs of that time, and of the state of the war. They made no disclosure of their own project, and indeed had not the slightest intention to do so ; but they now, in presence of the ambassador, ingenuously confessed that, in the warmth of conversation, they had sometimes been carried too far, and had used expressions which might possibly have betrayed them. The ambassador advised them to be more circumspect in fu-

ture, and hinted that their experience should teach them that, to preserve an important undertaking really secret, it is not enough to say nothing, and to do nothing relative to it, but they must forget that they know any thing concerning it.

Afterwards Renault stated, that rumors of peace being again circulated, at the close of the month of June, the Venetian officers had ill treated the foreign troops ; and that, not being restrained by the authority of the count of Nassau, who had died about that time, these troops had shown symptoms of discontent before Gradisca ; that the general of the republic, fearing that a disturbance might ensue, had placed them in several posts distant from each other ; that, perceiving from this precaution that they were regarded with distrust, they had revolted, and refused with insolence to obey certain orders of the senate ; that the general had thought it his duty to execute the leaders of the mutiny ; that he had confined the principal officers in Padua, and placed the rest in different posts, in Lombardy, until their wages could be paid, and the conclusion of peace should permit him to disband them.

Renault added, that the lieutenant of the count of Nassau, who was one of those with whom he had carried on a correspondence, had been banished to Brescia ; that he had there concerted a plan, by means of which he could deliver that city into the hands of don Pedro ; and that it was necessary to come to some determination on this point immedi-

ately, as the lieutenant insisted on an early and decisive answer.

The ambassador replied, that no movement ought to be made in that quarter, until they were masters of Venice ; that even then they had need of but one place in Lombardy ; that they were sure of Crema, and this new project would be attended with the disadvantage of dividing their forces ; that, nevertheless, it was expedient to preserve the friendship of those whom he had engaged, but to defer, from time to time, under some pretext or other, the execution of this project ; and that it would be advisable to abandon it, rather than hazard the slightest agitation.

Renault then stated that, besides this lieutenant, he had engaged three Frenchmen named Durand, who were sergeants-major of the regiments of Lievestein, Brainville, and Bribe ; a Savoyard named Ternon, who was present at the assault on Geneva ; a Dutchman named Theodore ; Robert Revellido, an Italian engineer ; and two other Italians who had formerly been employed in the arsenal, the one named Louis de Villa-mezzana, a captain of light horse, the other William Retrosi, lieutenant of captain Honorat, in Parma ; that he had found it necessary to make a full disclosure to these nine persons, but he had selected them with such care that he would answer for their fidelity with his life ; that, while he continued in the camp, they had engaged more than two hundred officers ; that to these officers he had merely stated, as the ambassador had directed, that

whenever necessary, they would be required to proceed to Venice, to protect his excellency from the populace of that city ; that since his return, having, by letter, requested a statement of the exact number of men upon whom he might securely rely, he had been assured that he might depend upon two thousand, at the least, of the troops of Lievestein, and upon two thousand three hundred of those of Nassau ; that all the officers were ready to place themselves in his power, as security for this engagement ; that, from the beginning of the negotiation, they had flattered their soldiers with the prospect that, when disbanded by the republic, they should be employed on some expedition, in which they would obtain a rich reward for the privations and distresses they had endured ; that there was no reason for apprehending that the peculiar nature of the enterprise would, when disclosed to them, diminish their ardor ; that they were so exasperated against the senate, on account of the ignominious treatment they had received, that, were they to act from no other impulse, they would hesitate at nothing to obtain revenge ; that, nevertheless, for greater safety, the secret should not be communicated, if such was the wish of the marquis, until matters were so well arranged, and the enterprise so near its accomplishment, that little doubt could be entertained of its success ; and that, the resolution having been taken to deliver up Venice to pillage, there was not one who would hesitate to seize the opportunity to enrich himself, in a way so certain

and prompt, and thus be enabled to live in opulence the remainder of his days.

When the enterprise first occurred to the marquis of Bedmar, he resolved that he would not engage in it, until he had obtained the control of more means than were sufficient to ensure success ; and that these means should be so independent and disconnected that, should it happen that any one should fail him, the others would not, for that reason, be less efficient. With this view, though he relied with certainty upon what don Pedro had promised, and upon the engagement of the Dutch officers with whom Renault had negotiated, he had adopted measures to procure troops from the duke of Ossuna. With each of these he had made the same engagements for assistance, as if he had sought none from the others, and as if he had determined to execute three different projects.

The time had arrived when it was necessary to know the precise moment when the duke of Ossuna could despatch to Venice the force he had engaged to furnish. But as, from his character, they could not safely rely upon his word, in an affair of such importance and delicacy, they determined to send to Naples some one capable of judging, on the spot, whether he was in a condition to fulfil his engagement. Should the captain leave Venice, his absence would occasion suspicion ; it was necessary that Renault should remain in the city ; therefore, as the most proper person to make this voyage, they selected de Bribe, one of the Frenchmen whom Renault had

engaged at Friuli. But he having received from the republic, when on the point of departing, a commission to enlist recruits, they thought it expedient that he should remain and perform that service ; and another Frenchman, named Laurent Nolot, a comrade of the captain, left Venice in his stead, on the first day of the year 1618.

The marquis of Bedmar thought that the proper time had also arrived for coming to an explicit understanding with the council of Spain. To anticipate all the explanations which they might require, he sent them a detailed and circumstantial account of his project. And as he was well aware that this court was dilatory in its deliberations, he insisted, in a private letter to the duke of Lerma, upon an early and decisive answer, observing that the dangers by which he was surrounded gave him a right to speak in this absolute manner, and declaring that, if they detained his courier more than eight days, he should interpret this delay as an order to abandon the enterprise.

He received an answer within the time he prescribed, but it was not so decisive as he desired. He was instructed that, should there be disadvantage in delay, he should proceed to the execution of his design ; but they expressed a strong desire to receive previously, if possible, a full and exact description of the state of the republic.

The ambassador, who was already prepared on this point, immediately drew up a statement so able and so elegant that the Spaniards have pronounced it the

most finished of all their state papers. It does not appear for what purpose it was prepared ; but those who read it with a knowledge of the purpose, perceive that every word bears upon the design in view. He begins by setting forth the difficulty of the task, on account of the impenetrable secrecy of the government which he was about to describe. He next speaks in praise of that government ; but his eulogium applies rather to the first age of the republic, than to its present condition. He then, in eloquent language, makes the trite remark, that such is the deplorable condition of human affairs, that whatever is most excellent is most liable to corruption ; that thus the wisest laws of this republic, being abused, have been the principal causes of its degeneracy ; that the law, which excludes the people from all participation in the government, originated and confirmed the tyranny of the nobles, and that, which subjects the ecclesiastical to the civil authority, had occasioned and encouraged a spirit of disaffection towards the court of Rome, which was openly manifested by the people of Venice, after their quarrel with that court. He exaggerates this disaffection by stating acts of impiety which, as was reported, the Dutch had committed with impunity at Friuli. He exclaims particularly against their having caused a distinguished nobleman of their country, named Renaud de Brederode, to be interred, though a calvinist, in the church des Servites, in Venice ; and here, without naming him, he casts a severe reproach upon father Paul,

who instigated the senate to commit this offence against the established religion. He expresses surprise that the people, whose reverence for the civil magistrate must be weakened by the contempt of religion which they often witnessed, could patiently endure the cruel oppressions of their rulers. These oppressions he describes in detail; and from his description, in which nothing is exaggerated, they appear intolerable. He then shows that the honour and lives, not less than the property of the people, are in the power of the great; and that, devoted as the nation is to avarice, to vengeance and to love, it is not surprising that those in inferior stations should be oppressed by their superiors. In fine, he examines the condition of the senate, of the provinces, of the army, and of the navy. He observes that divisions exist in the senate, and does not scruple to say that he is acquainted with many disaffected nobles. He describes the desolation of the provinces, some laid waste by the Uscoques, and others exhausted by their exertions to render assistance. He declares that, in all Lombardy, there are not three officers to a garrison, who receive pay, and that the government retains its authority there solely because no one comes forward to wrest it from them. As to the army, he gives a faithful account of the revolts that had occurred; he states how the mutineers had been dispersed, and observes that these were so numerous that the rest could be regarded only as a collection of miserable militia without courage, experience, or

discipline. As to the navy, it had become the asylum of the infamous pirates of the Mediterranean, men destitute of character, and upon whose fidelity the republic could not rely one moment after they should have become strong enough to turn her own arms against herself.

After having stated these particulars, with admirable beauty of language and force of expression, he enquires what opinion should be formed as to the future condition of this republic, its fortune and its duration ; and he proves, by the inferences which naturally flow from the facts he had established, that it is already in its decrepitude ; that its disorders are of such a nature, that no remedy could be effectual that should not entirely change its constitution.

Having considered this exposition of the state of Venice, the council of Spain gave the marquis of Bedmar permission, but sent him no order, to proceed. Yet as Nolot did not return, nothing could be done ; and the marquis could not console himself for having, in an affair of this nature, exposed himself to the caprice of the duke of Ossuna, whom he ought long since to have thoroughly known. The delay, at this juncture, was important. After the Spaniards had taken Vercelli, the siege of Gradisca was pressed with great vigor, by the Venetians, and the council of Spain saw no mode of saving it, but by renewing propositions of peace. A project of a treaty, containing the principal articles, was therefore drawn up, in concert, at Madrid ; but the irregular conduct of

the duke of Ossuna obliged the Venetians to revoke the powers of their ambassador, and transfer the negotiation to France, where the death of marshal d'Ancre gave hope of a favorable issue. Peace was concluded, at Paris, on the 6th of September.

The governor of Milan had a conference, soon after, at Pavia, with the count de Bethune to make arrangements for the execution of the treaty, so far as regarded the duke of Savoy ; but, at the same time, this governor continued to harass the Venetians, and even took several little towns belonging to them, in Lombardy. They complained loudly of this conduct, and made preparations to carry on the war more vigorously than ever. The marquis of Bedmar therefore offered, in full senate, his congratulations upon the conclusion of peace, and engaged that whatever had been agreed upon should be performed. He was induced to take this step, not so much because he had received orders from Spain, as because he was desirous of effacing the unfavorable impressions, in relation to him, which the late transactions had made upon the senate. With this view, he performed the ceremony with all imaginable demonstrations of joy and friendship, and the Venetians, who desired nothing so much as what he promised, were so far deceived by his protestations that they agreed upon a suspension of arms.

This suspension was a stroke of policy on the part of the Spaniards, and proved the masterly adroitness of their ambassador. The siege of Gradisca had

been pressed so vigorously that the place could not possibly hold out a fortnight. Yet hostilities were not to cease until the end of two months, because this time had been judged necessary to exchange ratifications, and to make arrangements for the execution of the treaties. It was necessary to prevent the surrender of Gradisca within this time ; the suspension of arms placed it out of danger ; and the Spaniards, not having this motive to hasten the execution of the treaties, remained at full liberty to interpose all the delays they might imagine necessary to their designs.

In effect, the duke of Ossuna, constrained by orders from Madrid, and the urgent representations of the pope, offered some time afterwards to restore the ships which he had taken ; but, as to the merchandise, he pretended he could not tell what had become of it. It was, nevertheless, at this moment, exposed to sale at Naples, under the eyes of the Venetian resident ; and the duke again sent a powerful fleet to cruise in the Adriatic. The senate having thought proper to complain of this to the marquis of Bedmar, he joined in their complaints, and was even louder than they. He declared that he could not explain nor justify the conduct of the duke ; that the king, their master, would not acknowledge it ; that, having received, during the period of his embassy at Venice, many favors, and much friendly treatment, he had but one subject of regret, which was, that the conduct of this viceroy had been imputed to his counsels ; that,

in fact, he had not the slightest participation in it ; that, little as they might know of the duke of Ossuna, they must be convinced that he was governed solely by his caprice ; and that, as to himself, they might judge of his disposition, by the pacific conduct of the governor of Milan, which, he was proud to say, had been in conformity with his advice.

It was true that the governor faithfully observed the engagement to suspend hostile operations ; but yet he did not disarm his troops ; and that this conduct might appear less strange, he contrived to quarrel again with the duke of Savoy, alleging, as a pretext, that the troops disbanded by this prince, still remained in the Pays de Vaud awaiting the entire execution of the treaties. Don Pedro, when required by the count de Bethune, refused to disarm, according to his promise at Pavia ; and he also persuaded the duke of Mantua to perform whatever depended upon him. The Count de Bethune, withdrawing upon their refusal, published a protest against their conduct ; and to this protest the most plausible reply was made that the marquis of Bedmar could invent.

From what has been related, it will easily be seen that it was important to hasten the execution of the conspiracy, as it was difficult to maintain affairs, for a long time, in the condition essential to its success. But the duke of Ossuna delayed to send back Nolot ; and the ambassador, vexed and distressed beyond measure, having demanded an explanation of this delay, the cause was soon disclosed.

A short time after the captain was received into the service of the republic, the duke, desirous of gaining, from different sources, intelligence of the state of Venice, sent thither, as a spy, an Italian named Alexander Spinosa. This man, who was unknown, soon obtained employment, as did all adventurers who came to solicit it. He suspected that the duke contemplated some important enterprise, but did not suppose that the corsair was entrusted to manage it; he doubted, however, whether this corsair was on such unfriendly terms with the duke as was generally supposed. After his arrival at Venice, he proposed to the viceroy to assassinate the captain; the viceroy declined the offer, alleging that the attempt would be attended with danger. Spinosa, who was not destitute of sagacity, and was well acquainted with the duke, concluded there must be some stronger reason for this refusal; for he could not believe that he would hesitate to obtain revenge, at the risk of losing one of his men. The duke, however, charged him to observe the conduct of the corsair, either to prevent him from suspecting the truth, or because he belonged to that class of men who suspect every body, and was desirous of knowing whether the reports of Spinosa and the captain, in relation to the conduct of the latter, would agree.

To enable him to execute his commission, Spinosa associated with several Frenchmen, whom he had known at Naples, and who were companions of the captain, at Venice. These men, who were in fact

some of the conspirators, gave to the captain an exact account of the enquiries made by Spinosa, in relation to him ; and they, moreover, discovered that this spy was himself concerting some plot, and endeavoring to engage men for the service of the duke of Ossuna.

The captain felt indignant that the duke distrusted him ; but he was not surprised at it ; nevertheless he considered that, if Spinosa should continue his intrigue, without coming to an understanding with him, he would weaken their party by dividing it ; and that, on his part, he could not condescend to solicit the confidence of a man who was evidently a spy upon his conduct.

The marquis of Bedmar and Renault concluded also that this difficulty should be immediately removed, and after mature deliberation they decided, that nothing could ensure their own safety, but the sacrifice of Spinosa. But he was a man who would sell his life dearly, should they attempt to assassinate him ; the business he had engaged in obliged him to be always on his guard ; and the captain, after considering and rejecting every other course, was at length obliged to accuse him to the council of Ten, as a spy of the duke of Ossuna. The Frenchmen, with whom he had associated, testified so judiciously against him, that he was arrested, and the same day privately executed. All that he advanced against the corsair made no impression on the minds of the judges, because the latter was his accuser, and he could prove nothing that he asserted.

This affair greatly increased the confidence which the Venetians had reposed in the captain ; but still it disquieted the marquis of Bedmar, because it admonished the Venetians to observe more closely the conduct of the foreigners in their service.

The duke of Ossuna had just heard of the death of Spinosa, when Nolot arrived at Naples. He was at no loss to divine the author. The event displeased him ; he was offended that the marquis of Bedmar sent him no account of it ; and the various suspicions which arose in his mind prevented him from forming any definite resolution.

The troops of Lievestein having, in the mean time, again mutinied, they were, in the beginning of February, marched, by the order of the senate, to the Lazaretto, two miles from Venice. The marquis of Bedmar, fearing they might themselves, in order to obtain their pay, adjust their quarrel with the republic, and would then be compelled to leave the country, persuaded them, by means of their officers, not to receive the sum which was at first offered. The conspirators, that they might have it in their power to make use of these troops while they remained in the vicinity, despatched a courier to Nolot, requesting him to state to the viceroy, that, for a month from that time, they should have near five thousand men at their command. Nolot discharged his duty ; but the viceroy, who had not yet digested his anger, amused him so long that, after a suspense of six weeks, the officers, fearing that their soldiers, who

suffered much, would make an agreement themselves, concluded an arrangement, with the consent of the conspirators, who saw no means of preventing it.

Ten days afterwards, Nolot arrived from Naples, with the determination of the duke of Ossuna. It was such as they desired, but was addressed to Robert Brulard, one of the associates of the captain. The ambassador and the captain, rejoicing to be released from their perplexity, did not deign to notice this insult. The viceroy stated that he was ready, whenever they should direct, to send barks, brigantines, and other small vessels, adapted to the harbors and canals of Venice, and capable of carrying six thousand men if necessary. Nolot had seen the troops and the vessel all prepared to depart ; and the captain caused the harbors and canals, which led to St. Marks, to be sounded. As he had, from his office, many mariners at his command, they could, without suspicion, visit these harbors and canals, as often as they pleased, and take all their dimensions with exactness.

Nothing now remained but to prevent the departure of the troops of Lievestein. For this purpose, money was liberally dispersed, and the inclemency of the season served as a pretext for their delay. The greater number still remained at the lazaretto, and those who had departed before the arrival of Nolot, stopped at places near to Venice.

Renault and the captain, finding their duties too arduous, resolved to choose, for assistants, eighteen

others, who should be discreet, courageous, and worthy of entire confidence. They selected the nine whom Renault had engaged at Friuli, and the most distinguished among those who had followed the corsair from Naples. Of these, five were captains of vessels, like himself ; Vincent Robert of Marseilles, Laurent Nolot, and Robert Brulard, who have been already mentioned ; the two last, and another Brulard, named Laurent, were from Franche-compté ; another, from Provence, named Antoine Jaffier ; two brothers, from Lorraine, named Charles and John Boleau, and and an Italian, John Rizzardo, all three well acquainted with the management of the petard ; and a Frenchman called Langlade, who was considered the most skilful artificer of fire-works that ever lived. His skill was so well known that he had obtained permission to work at his business at the arsenal ; by this means, the petardiers, his comrades, were freely allowed to enter the arsenal, as well as two others, named Villa Mezzana and Retrosi, who had been employed there before, and who were of the number that Renault had engaged.

These six persons drew such an exact plan of the arsenal, that those, who had never seen it, could deliberate concerning it, as well as those who had built it. In this they were much assisted by two officers of the arsenal, whom the captain had gained to his party. They appeared to him to be dissatisfied with their employment, to be ready to embark in such a project, should it promise to promote their interest, and dis-

posed to adhere faithfully to whatever engagements they might make. The event proved that he had judged correctly. The flattery which he freely administered, accompanied occasionally by a considerable number of Spanish pistoles, induced them to engage to perform whatever he should command.

Langlade and the two officers lodged in the arsenal. Bride, Brainville, and Laurent Brulard resided with Renault, at the house of the French ambassador. The three petardiers lived with the marquis of Bedmar, who supplied them with powder and other necessary materials and instruments, but had no intercourse with them. They had already made more petards and fire-works than were necessary, and the ambassador's house was so full that no others could lodge there. The captain lived in his own house and alone, that suspicion might not be excited ; and the others he placed at the house of the courtesan, where he and Renault became acquainted with each other. The esteem and friendship which succeeded to the love they had felt for her, but still more the knowledge they had obtained of her adventures, persuaded them that they could not make a better selection.

This courtesan was from one of the Greek Islands of the Archipelago, and her family held as high a rank as any, not being Venetian, could hold in a country under the dominion of Venice. The person sent there as governor, by the republic, flattering her with high expectations, seduced her, and afterwards, when

her father required the fulfilments of his promise, he caused him to be assassinated. The daughter repaired to Venice to demand the punishment of the murderer, but she obtained no redress ; and having, in prosecuting her suit, expended all the property she possessed, her beauty relieved her from the misery it occasioned. No passion is so violent as the resentment of a person compelled to descend from a respectable to a degraded rank. The project of her two friends gave her inexpressible pleasure, and she was willing to risk every thing to aid it. She rented one of the largest houses in Venice ; and, under the pretext of making some alterations, she forbore to remove her furniture into it, and thus retained, without exciting suspicion, the one she before occupied, and which was not far distant.

In these two houses, eleven of the principal conspirators resided, for near six months. As she was visited by all the genteel Venetians and foreigners, and as this crowd of people, flocking to her house, might lead to the discovery of her inmates, she feigned an excuse to prevent these visits. They, who know with what civility women of her character are treated in Italy, will readily believe that her house was afterwards visited by none but such as went thither on business. The conspirators left it in the night only, and their meetings were held during the day.

At these meetings, Renault and the captain proposed to the conspirators, the measures which had

been agreed upon with marquis of Bedmar, that their opinions might be obtained and the means of executing them be devised. Whenever it was necessary to visit the marquis, they repaired to his house, with all the circumspection required in a country like this, and at a time when the houses of ambassadors, and particularly his, were watched as though they were the abode of enemies. It had long been determined that it was necessary to have a thousand soldiers in the city, before the execution of their plot ; but as it might occasion suspicion should all bring arms, the marquis had procured them for more than five hundred. As the gondolas of ambassadors, from whatever quarter they come, are not visited, he had found it easy to do this : and nothing was now wanting but an opportunity to introduce the requisite number of men without exciting observation.

About this time, the doge Donato died, and Antonio Priuli, who was then at Friuli to enforce the execution of the treaties, was elected in his stead. The admiral was ordered to repair thither, with his fleet, and escort him to Venice. The grand chancellor, and the secretaries of state, were to proceed in advance, and bear to him the ducal bonnet. Twelve of the principal senators were to follow, each in an armed brigantine magnificently decorated, and accompanied by a splendid suite ; and the senate, in a body, were to meet him at sea, and conduct him, with all this retinue, to the city.

As it had seldom happened that those who were

elected to the office of doge, were, at the time, absent from the city, this unusual pomp attracted to it a large number of people. The marquis of Bedmar, who anticipated this when he heard of the election of Priuli, sent Nolot again to Naples, directing him to insist on the immediate departure of the duke of Osuna. To remove all excuse for delay, the captain was directed to send to the duke an exact plan of the enterprise, and to give him an account of all that occurred at Venice, during the former absence of Nolot. The corsair did even more than he was directed. Willing to humour the caprice of the viceroy, and to show that they felt no dissatisfaction at his conduct, he concluded his despatch with these words.—“ I attribute the long delay of Nolot, at Naples, to his remissness ; for I do not doubt that, had he represented things truly, your excellency would have hastened his return. He doubtless asked for money, or made some other demand of that nature, but he had express orders to the contrary ; and I now engage to retain Venice in my power six months, should not the grand fleet of your excellency arrive sooner, provided you send me the brigantines, and the six thousand men, immediately after Nolot reaches Naples.” This letter bears date the 11th of April, the day Nolot left Venice.

In the mean time, Renault assembled, at Venice, all the officers of the troops he had engaged, that they might gain such a knowledge of the city as to be able to execute the enterprise in the night. Before they

came, they designated individually a thousand of the Dutch troops, who were directed to hold themselves in readiness to march at a day's notice ; and to prevent the absence of these men from being remarked, they were selected, in equal proportions, from the various posts, where those troops were stationed. To lodge these troops, each of the officers engaged as many apartments as he could without exciting suspicion ; the landlords were told that these apartments were engaged for foreigners, who were desirous of witnessing the approaching celebration. The officers themselves lodged at the houses of courtezans, where, paying liberally, they were more effectually concealed than they could have been in any other place.

Nothing now remained but to arrange the plan of execution ; and the marquis of Bedmar, Renault, and the captain, conferring together, determined upon the following.

“As soon as it shall be dark, that portion of the thousand soldiers, who shall have come to the city without arms, shall repair to the residence of the ambassador, where arms will be delivered to them. Five hundred shall then proceed to the square of St. Marks, where the captain will meet them ; the greater part of the other five hundred will go to the neighbourhood of the arsenal, where they will be joined by Renault, and the remainder will take possession of all the gondolas and boats they can find, near the bridge of Rialto, and proceed, with all possible haste, to bring from the lazaretto about one thousand soldiers

of Lievestein's regiment. While these are absent, those who remain will conduct themselves as peaceably as possible, that they may not, by producing commotion, be obliged to act, until the troops shall have arrived from the lazaretto.

“If nothing occurs, until these troops shall have arrived at the square of St. Marks, to make it necessary for the conspirators to declare themselves, the captain shall take five hundred of them, and shall place them, with the five hundred already there, under the command of the serjeant major Durand. These thousand men shall then be drawn up in order of battle. The captain, with two hundred men, shall take possession of the ducal palace, and especially of the arms deposited there, that he may supply such of his own troops as shall be destitute, and prevent the Venetians from using them. A hundred others, under Bride, shall take possession of La Secque ; and a hundred others, under Brainville, of the palace of the procurator, with the assistance of men, who will, during the day, be secretly introduced into the belfrey or tower. These hundred last mentioned shall remain in the belfrey, until the enterprise is accomplished, to prevent the sounding of the alarm bell. Other detachments shall keep guard at the entrance of all the streets that lead from the square. Artillery must be placed in positions to enfilade these streets ; and until cannon can be obtained from the arsenal, they must be taken from the galley of the council of ten, which is near the spot, and may be

easily seized. All who are found in the places of which possession shall be gained, and where guards shall be posted, shall be put to the sword. During these operations around the square, the serjeant major will remain in the middle, with the rest of the troops drawn up in order of battle. And all these things must be done with as little noise and disturbance as possible.

“The conspirators will then openly proceed to force, with petards, the gate of the arsenal. At this signal, the eight conspirators, who have drawn the plan of it, and who will be within, shall, with the artificial fire works prepared for the purpose, set fire to it, in different places, and put the principal officers to the sword. This they may easily do, in the confusion which the petards and the fire will occasion, especially as these officers will have no suspicion of their purpose. They will join Renault as soon as he shall have gained admittance, and every person belonging to the arsenal shall immediately be killed. The soldiers will then convey the cannon to the places where they can be used with most effect, particularly to the Arena de Mari, to the Fontego de Tedeschi, to the salt magazines, to the belfrey of the procurator’s palace, to the bridge of Rialto, and to other elevated places, from which they may fire on the city, and destroy it, should resistance be made.

“Whilst Renault is forcing the gate of the arsenal, the captain will break into the prison of St. Marks, and arm the prisoners. The principal senators must

be killed ; and persons, engaged for the purpose, will set fire to at least forty places in the city, as distant as possible from each other, in order to increase the confusion.

“ In the mean time, the Spaniards despatched by the duke of Ossuna, having heard the signal, which will have been given on becoming masters of the arsenal, will debark at the square of St. Marks, and instantly proceed, in detachments, to different quarters of the city, under the command of the other nine leaders of the conspiracy.

“ Every one shall cry *liberty, liberty* ; and when all these orders are executed, the city shall be given up to pillage : but foreigners shall be respected ; from them nothing shall be taken, under pain of death, and every one shall be spared who ceases to resist.”

Nolot, on arriving at Naples, found every thing in such a state of preparation, that the six thousand men were embarked the next day, under the command of an Englishman of the name of Hailot. To avoid suspicion the duke of Ossuna directed that his large ships should make a long circuit ; but he sent Hailot and the brigantines by the shortest route. On the second day of their voyage, these brigantines were attacked by a squadron of corsairs from Barbary. As they were constructed for the transport of troops, and were not fitted to engage in a regular action, they suffered much from the artillery of the Barbarians, whose brigantines were better armed, and could be managed with more ease. But though the

men on board the Neapolitan vessels were too numerous to act with regularity and freedom, yet as they were all Spaniards, selected for the occasion; they treated so harshly such of the enemy as they could grapple with, that these corsairs would probably have had cause to regret having encountered them, had not a furious storm, occurring in the heat of the engagement, dispersed both fleets. That of the duke of Ossuna received so much damage that it could not again venture to sea, for some time.

The news of this disaster convinced the marquis of Bedmar that he could not disturb the approaching festivities. He therefore participated in them, displaying more magnificence than any other person. He declared, in the senate, when congratulating the new doge upon his elevation, that the lively joy he experienced arose from his confidence that his highness would retain, on the throne, that earnest desire for the execution of the treaty of peace, which he had lately expressed at Friuli.

On leaving the senate, he sent for Renault and the captain. Shall the enterprise, he asked them, be abandoned? They replied, that not only were they unwilling to abandon it, but their associates appeared no more disheartened by the disaster of the fleet, than if it had arrived safe in port; and that they were all disposed to take the necessary means to preserve affairs in their present condition, until circumstances should become more favorable. The ambassador, who trembled when he asked the question, embraced

them, on hearing this reply, with tears of joy. He said to them, with a gaiety and animation which would have inspired the timid with boldness, and revived the confidence of the most terrified, that great reverses, which, in common affairs, might divert men from their purposes, are but natural incidents in extraordinary enterprises ; that they test the strength of the mind ; and that then only ought a man to consider himself capable of accomplishing a difficult enterprise, when he has been once defeated, and preserved his equanimity and firmness.

It was finally determined, by the marquis and his two confidants, that the execution of their project should be deferred until the feast of Ascension, which was near, and was, at that period, the most solemn festival celebrated at Venice ; that, in the meantime, the troops should be kept in the places they then occupied, and all the comforts and conveniences they could desire should be furnished them ; that, for this purpose, money should be freely distributed among the principal officers : that, of the three hundred who had repaired to Venice, the most distinguished should be detained, as hostages for the fidelity of the rest, and the others sent back, as well to retain the soldiers in their duty, as to avoid exciting suspicion, by lessening the number of officers in the city ; that the time of those who remained should be occupied in some agreeable manner, to prevent them from being wearied by waiting, and from reflecting too much on the present state of affairs ; that the twenty prin-

cial conspirators should attentively observe their conduct ; and that, to induce the republic to retain the troops of Lievestein, and to defer dismissing those of Nassau, the governor of Milan, and the viceroy of Naples, should delay carrying the treaties into execution.

Every pretext, which human ingenuity could devise, was invented by the marquis of Bedmar, and put in practice by don Pedro and the duke of Ossuna ; nevertheless, they were constantly impelled, however contrary it might have been to their inclinations, to take steps which led to peace. The council of Spain dared hazard nothing upon the uncertain prospect of the success of the conspiracy ; and France, desirous of maintaining the treaty of Paris, persuaded the Venetians to consent that the duke of Savoy should dismiss the troops, who, remaining in the Pays de Vaud, afforded to don Pedro a pretext for his delays. This obstacle removed, the marquis of Bedmar, in hope of preventing this prince from restoring the places he had taken in Montferrat, circulated a report that, as soon as the duke of Mantau should regain possession, he would enter into some arrangement with the Spaniards.

At the same time, don Pedro quarrelled, without cause, with a minister from Savoy, who had come to Milan with the French ambassadors, and commanded him to quit the city. The duke, irritated by this insult, directed them to repair to Savoy, and countermanded the orders he had given to evacuate the

places he occupied ; but, convinced by the ambassadors that he had fallen into the snare set for him by don Pedro, he instantly surrendered those places. So great was the astonishment of don Pedro, when he heard of this, that he could not forbear expressing it in public. He felt it to be necessary to give up also his prisoners, and the places of least importance ; but, as to restoring Vercelli, the important point, he made such unreasonable objections, that the council of Spain threatened to recal him, before the usual period. At first, he declared that it would be disgraceful for him to restore Vercelli, whilst the French ambassadors remained at Milan, for the purpose, as it seemed, of compelling him to do it. They quitted that city. He then insisted that the duke of Savoy should previously restore certain lands, which belonged to ministers of Mantua. These lands were restored ; yet don Pedro still kept possession of Vercelli. At length, the king of France, who wished to conclude a marriage between Madam Christiana, his sister, and the prince of Piedmont, having expressed himself plainly and decisively on this subject, don Pedro began to send off the munitions of war and the artillery, but proceeded with all possible slowness. The marquis of Bedmar having requested him to use even less despatch, he resorted to the expedient of requiring additional assurances, from the duke of Savoy, in favor of the duke of Mantua ; but the ministers of Mantua, wearied by so many delays, declared, in a public manifesto, that they did not desire these assurances.

Whatever chagrin this declaration occasioned to the Marquis of Bedmar; the conduct of the duke of Ossuna occasioned still greater. This duke, harassed by the incessant complaints of the Venetians, that he continued to disturb the navigation of the gulf, and unable to devise any other new pretence to justify himself, made answer, that he should pursue the same measures so long as the Venetians retained in their service the most inveterate enemies of the king his master. The feelings of the marquis, on hearing this reply of the duke, may be easily imagined, when it is recollected what pains he had taken to detain in the city the troops from Holland, to whom the duke alluded. He had no doubt that the senate, who were desirous of peace, at any price, would, to deprive the viceroy of all excuse, immediately dismiss them ; but the event was again at variance with the well-founded anticipation of the marquis.

Some demon, favorable to the extravagances of the duke of Ossuna, impelled the Venetians to pursue a course directly contrary to their inclinations and their interest. It was suggested to the senate, that the republic had already given too many proofs of its desire for peace ; that it was this that encouraged the Spaniards to delay the execution of the treaties ; that, if the last demand of the viceroy were granted, he would be led to think they would assent to any thing ; and that, instead of dismissing these troops, it was necessary to retain in service even the regiment of Lievestein, until the complete execution of the treaties.

The pleasure which this resolution gave to the marquis of Bedmar was disturbed by the discovery of the plot at Crema. Alfier, the officer from Provence, and the Italian captain, who were stationed there, and had been engaged in the conspiracy, having quarrelled at play, a duel was the consequence, in which the captain was mortally wounded. Before he expired, he, to relieve his conscience, made a full disclosure to the Venetian commander. Alfier, anticipating this, absconded immediately after wounding his adversary, taking with him all his accomplices whom he could apprize of their danger. The remainder, among whom was the French lieutenant, who was the principal, were arrested; but as Renault had made himself known merely as an agent from Milan, and as they knew nothing more concerning him, don Pedro only was implicated by the disclosure.

Eight days afterwards, the sergeant major, who had agreed to deliver up Marano to the conspirators, having kept back, for his own emolument, a part of the perquisites of a servant of the purveyor, and of a pensioner of the republic, they, irritated by the loss, entered his house in his absence, broke open his trunks, and carried away his money and papers. Among these were letters on the subject of the conspiracy. As he knew only the agent of the duke of Ossuna, who had negotiated with him, he would have accused none but the duke; but he pursued a more honorable course. In the midst of torments, he de

clared that he was well convinced he should not be permitted to escape, and that he had rather leave his accomplices, if he had any, in a condition to avenge his death, than, by making disclosures, to ruin them without any advantage to himself. Thanks to God were offered publicly in Venice, on occasion of these two discoveries. The success of the enterprise was, however, rendered more certain than before. The senate supposed they had, at length, ascertained the secret cause of the irregular conduct of the Spaniards; and, after these two projects had failed, they imagined that all danger was over, and no longer doubted the complete fulfilment of the treaties.

The time assigned for the execution of the enterprise was now near. From the Sunday preceding the feast of Ascension to the day of Pentecost, one of the most celebrated fairs in the world, was, at that period, held at Venice. The crowd of merchants, who then visited the city, did not increase the difficulty of surprising it; on the contrary, it afforded to the body of one thousand soldiers, an opportunity of entering with the merchants, and of procuring lodgings without being remarked. They found it easy to leave the Venetian towns where they were posted, because, for several months, those most anxious to return to their native country had, from time to time, been dismissed; and the magistrates, whose duty it was to impose regulations, neglected to interfere, because the republic paid nothing for their services. As the departure of so many at once might occasion

alarm, most of them declared that they were going to the fair at Venice. They changed their dress, assuming the guise of various occupations. To avoid all appearance of concert, individuals, who spoke different languages, took lodgings together, and all behaved as though they had no acquaintance with each other.

The five hundred Spaniards who were to have executed the plot at Crema, which had been discovered, were sent, by don Pedro, to the vicinity of Brescia, with orders, on receiving intelligence of the success of the conspiracy, to take possession of that city, in which they were to be assisted by the party formed there by the lieutenant of the count of Nassau, and yet subsisting. The leader of these Spaniards was charged to conduct them directly to Venice, the instant he received orders from Renault.

The Venetian fleet had sailed to Dalmatia, but so incessant were the movements of the duke of Ossuna, that it was kept in constant readiness to put out to sea. The captain sent to the officers, who, in his absence, commanded his twelve vessels, powerful fireworks, to be secretly distributed to the other vessels of the fleet, just before the time appointed for the execution of the enterprise. As no one distrusted these officers, it was easy for them to do this without being discovered or even suspected. He gave orders that they should measure the matches so exactly, that, if possible, all might explode at the same moment; that if any vessel should be uninjured by them, they should

attack, and capture or sink her; that they should then repair immediately to Venice, and be in readiness to perform whatever might be directed, but should wait for further orders before they attempted any thing. The Sunday before the feast of Ascension, being the first day of the fair, was appointed for the execution of the enterprise.

The little squadron of the duke of Ossuna was this time so fortunate as to arrive, without any accident, within six miles of Venice. To prevent suspicion, it sailed in two divisions, one at a little distance from the other. The largest was composed of boats like those of fishermen; the other of brigantines similar to those of the corsairs. On Saturday morning, Hailot was commanded to leave his station the next day, at such time as would enable him to approach within sight of Venice between day-light and dark; to hoist the standard of St. Marks, and take possession of several little islands near which he must necessarily pass, which were entirely defenceless, and from which information might be sent of his arrival; he was then to present himself boldly before the castles of Sido and Malamaco, which were destitute of garrisons, and between which he could pass without injury; on giving notice, by despatching a boat, of his arrival there, pilots were to be sent to him lest he should run upon the banks or rocks which render the entrance of the port difficult to strangers.

As the whole of the next day must be occupied in preparing for the business of the evening, Renault and

the captain considered it advisable to confer, for the last time, with their companions ; and it was agreed that Renault should state to them the situation of affairs, and give them the necessary directions. Though great exertions were made, all could not be collected until near night. There were present, at this meeting, the three Frenchmen who lodged with Renault, the lieutenant of the count of Nassau, the three petardiers, Langlade, the two officers of the arsenal, the captain and the lieutenant who had formerly been stationed there, Nolot, the two Brulards, Jaffier, Robert, Theodore the Dutchman, the Savoyard who was present at the assault of Geneva, and Revellido the engineer. These twenty persons, with Renault and the captain, having shut themselves up, with all the precautions usual at such meetings, in the most secluded apartment in the house of the courtesan, the latter addressed the assembly.

He began by giving a plain and full account of the present state of affairs ; of the forces of the republic, and of their own ; of the disposition of the city and of the fleet ; of the preparations of don Pedro and of the duke of Ossuna ; of the arms and other munitions of war deposited at the house of the Spanish ambassador ; of his private understandings with members of the senate and many of the nobility ; and, in fine, of the precise information they had obtained of whatever was necessary to be known. After having gained the confidence of his hearers by this detail, which they themselves knew to be correct, of arrangements

effected almost as much by their efforts as his own, he proceeded as follows :

“ Such, my companions, are the means destined to conduct you to the glory you so ardently seek. Every one of you can judge whether they may be relied on, and are sufficient. The plans we have devised will, beyond all question, enable us to introduce ten thousand soldiers into a city which does not contain two hundred to oppose us ; the plunder of this city will attract to our party all the foreigners whom curiosity or traffic has brought hither ; and the inhabitants themselves, the instant they perceive they can do it with safety, will assist us to plunder the nobles who have plundered them so often. The best vessels of the fleet are ours, and the rest carry within them, at this moment, the means of their own destruction. The arsenal, that famous arsenal, the wonder of Europe and the terror of Asia, is even now almost in our power. The nine brave men, who now hear me, and who, for six months past, could have delivered it to us at a word, have taken such additional precautions during the delay that has taken place, that they are willing to answer, with their lives, for its surrender. Even should we not have the troops at the lazaretto, nor those on the main land, nor the little fleet of Haillot to support us, nor the five hundred men promised by don Pedro, nor the twenty Venetian vessels of our comrade, nor the large vessels of the duke of Ossuna, nor the Spanish army of Lombardy, yet our recent understandings and our

thousand soldiers would be amply sufficient for our purpose. And all the different means, which I have just enumerated, are disposed in such manner that any one may fail us, and the others be left in a state to act with undiminished efficiency. All are distinct and independent ; each may aid, but cannot injure, the others. It is hardly possible that all should fail us, and any one is sufficient to ensure success.

“ And if, after taking all the precautions which human wisdom can suggest, we may anticipate what success fortune will award us, can we have proofs of her favor more explicit than those we have already received ? Yes, my friends, they certainly partake of the miraculous. In all history, no instance can be found in which an enterprise of this kind has been partly revealed without being completely defeated. Ours has met with five unfavorable incidents, the least of which was sufficient, apparently, to ruin it. Who could have thought that the affair of Spinosa, whose object was the same as ours, would not have involved us in ruin ? that the disbanding of the troops of Lievestein, who were entirely devoted to us, would not have been the means of disclosing our secret ? that the dispersion of the little fleet would not have deranged all our projects and exposed us to new and perplexing inconveniences ? that the discovery of the plot at Crema, and of that at Marano, would not have led necessarily to the discovery of the whole conspiracy ? And yet all these incidents have had no unfavorable result. No one has pursued the track

which would have led him to us ; and our enemies have derived no advantage from the glimmering light they afforded. Never did such profound repose precede an explosion so terrible. The senate, we are positively assured, the senate sleeps in perfect security. Destiny, auspicious to us, has blinded the most penetrating, encouraged the most timid, lulled the most suspicious, confounded the most subtle. We live yet, my dear friends, we are even stronger than before these disasters ; they have served only to prove our firmness. We live ; and our lives shall soon be fatal to the tyrants of this city.

“Can a success so extraordinary, so constant, be the effect of natural causes ? May we not presume that it is vouchsafed to us by some power that controls human affairs ? And in truth, my companions, what is there upon the earth that is worthy the protection of heaven, if our enterprise is not ? It is our purpose to overthrow the most detestable of all governments ; to secure to the poor subjects of this state the enjoyment of their property, of which, should we not interfere, the avarice of the nobles would forever deprive them ; to preserve the honor of every female endowed with charms to fascinate, who would otherwise be subject to their lawless caprice ; to give safety to an infinite number of miserable beings whom their cruelty would sacrifice for the slightest offences ; in a word, to punish the most guilty of men, blackened by crimes which nature abhors, and polluted by vices which modesty dares not name.

“Let us not hesitate, then, seizing the sword with one hand and the torch with the other, to exterminate these wretches. And when we see those palaces where blasphemy sits enthroned, burning with the fire rather of heaven than of earth ; when we see those tribunals which are stained with the tears of the innocent, consumed by devouring flames ; the enraged soldier withdrawing his bloody sword from the bosom of the wicked ; death every where present ; and the horrible spectacles which, in the darkness of night, the unbridled fury of soldiers may present, let us then remember, my friends, that no good is vouchsafed unmixed to man ; that the most laudable actions produce intense suffering ; and, in fine, that the tumult of the approaching night is the only means of restoring, and forever, the reign of peace, innocence and freedom, in that unhappy city where furious passions have spread desolation and misery.”

This address was heard by the whole assembly with that approbation which men generally entertain for sentiments congenial with their own. Nevertheless Renault, who observed the countenances of the audience, remarked that Jaffier, one of the best friends of the captain, had, after listening attentively, suddenly displayed extreme anxiety, which he endeavored in vain to conceal ; and that, after the close of the address, there still remained upon his countenance marks of sadness and terror, indicating emotions of horror. Renault spoke of it to the captain, who at first did not think it worthy of attention ; but, having

observed Jaffier a few moments, he began to entertain some suspicions and doubts. Renault, who perfectly understood the relations and connection between the most secret emotions and the slightest outward signs, after further observation and reflection, declared explicitly to the captain, that, in his opinion, Jaffier was not to be trusted.

The captain, who knew Jaffier to be one of the bravest of men, pronounced this opinion to be unwarranted and precipitate ; but Renault, convinced of its correctness, explained so forcibly the reasons in support of it, that, if they did not make the same lively impression on the mind of the captain, he yet thought that his conduct ought to be attentively observed. He, however, suggested to Renault that, even if Jaffier were wavering, which he could not believe, there would not be time, before the evening of the next day, for him to deliberate and to form the resolution to betray them ; at any rate, under present circumstances, it was impossible to change their measures, and they must unavoidably incur the hazard which he apprehended. Renault replied, that there was one sure way of avoiding it, which was to poniard Jaffier that very evening. For a short time, the captain was silent ; at length he observed, that he could not resolve to sacrifice his best friend, on a mere suspicion ; that this summary execution might have many injurious consequences ; that he feared it would irritate and disaffect their companions, who might imagine their leader claimed despotic power

over them, even that of life and death ; that it would be difficult to convince them of the necessity of sacrificing Jaffier as clearly as they themselves felt it, and every conspirator, not perceiving it, would feel that his own life was in danger, whenever a similar suspicion should enter into the minds of their chiefs ; that when the thoughts of men are agitated by their rapid approach to the execution of a perilous undertaking, a mere trifle is sufficient to change their course ; and that, in such a predicament, the slightest alteration is of great importance, for none but sudden and violent measures can then be adopted ; that, should Jaffier be poniarded, and the manner in which he had disappeared be concealed, it was still more to be feared that his associates would believe that he had been detected, had fled, was a prisoner or a traitor ; and that, whatever pretext should be invented, his absence, when the enterprise, in which so important a part had been assigned to him, was on the point of execution, must give rise to discouraging reflections.

While Renault was listening to the discourse of the captain, one of their men came to them, bringing an order of the senate, which had just been received, that all those attached to the fleet should go on board the next morning. At the same time, a letter was received from the ambassador, explaining the reason of this order. The duke of Ossuna had not been able to leave Venice to join his fleet without the knowledge of the spies of the republic ; but as he

had given orders that, until a certain time, no person should be permitted to depart for Venice, and that all letters directed to that city should be detained, the Venetians had not, until this day, received notice of his departure. The archduke, who had just been elected king of Bohemia, and a portion of whose subjects had revolted, had solicited his assistance against the rebels ; and the viceroy having boasted that he would transport the troops intended for that service, by the way of the gulf, near to the ports of the archduke, in Istria, the Venetians had desired this prince to request the viceroy to take another route. But as the reasons which govern other men had no influence with him, they did not doubt, when they heard he had set sail, that his purpose was to conduct the troops himself, by the route he had mentioned. As they wished to avoid an open rupture, they did not, as they might, obstruct his passage ; but determined to send their fleet to the coasts of Istria, to observe his motions, and protect their maritime possessions from any attack which he might be tempted to make.

The firmest resolutions of men result generally from a strong conception of the danger which they have resolved to encounter. By the constant contemplation of this danger, the mind becomes familiar with it, and with all the circumstances that attend it, however terrible they may be ; but this firmness of resolution is so connected and interwoven with these circumstances, that, if a change in any one of them should happen, on the point of execution, there is great dan-

ger that the resolution, however firm before, should also change.

Such an effect Renault and the captain apprehended might be produced upon their associates, by the unexpected order for the fleet to sail, of which they had just received information. The news distressed them exceedingly, for they supposed, at first, that they should be compelled, however unpleasant it might be, to make some change in the plan of execution, which had been agreed on. This plan, it was evident, could not be executed immediately, for the night was already far advanced, and day light would appear before the squadron under Haillot could be brought within cannon shot of Venice, and before the troops at the lazaretto could be sent for. Neither could it be executed the next day, for if Haillot should then be directed to come up to the city, he would inevitably meet people on their way to the fleet, which was about to set sail. The departure of the fleet was, in fact, an event more favorable to the conspirators than any they could have wished for; Haillot would be left master of the port; and therefore, all things considered, they determined to defer the execution of their design, until some time after it had sailed.

The greatest difficulty was, to decide whether the captain, Langlade, the three petardiers, and the other conspirators, who were attached to the fleet, should obey the orders of the senate. It seemed necessary that they, and particularly the captain, should remain

at Venice ; yet he, of all of them, could least avoid obeying. The important command, which he held in the fleet, would cause his absence to be remarked more than that of all the rest. As most of them were attached to his vessels, he might, if present, by substituting others, prevent their absence from being noticed. It was therefore determined that he should go, accompanied by Langlade alone, who, as well as the three petardiers, acted under the immediate orders of the admiral ; but, as to the petardiers, the conspirators preferred to hazard every thing rather than suffer them to depart. The admiral, when he first saw the captain, made enquiries concerning them ; and the captain replied that he believed that they, and other officers belonging to his vessels, whom he could not find, were concealed at the houses of courtesans, and that he had been obliged to leave Venice in such haste that he had no time to make search for them. The admiral's orders to set sail were so peremptory, and his time so much occupied, that he could neither despatch men to look for them, nor wait until they could be found.

Before he embarked, the captain took Jaffier aside, and requested him to take his place by the side of Renault, on the night of the execution of the enterprise. He spoke in high terms of the confidence they reposed in his courage and address ; he assured him that, were it not for this, he should never have consented to go on board the fleet ; but as Jaffier was to remain, he felt certain that he should leave

with his associates a man equal at least to himself. During this conversation, the captain observed him attentively ; and he, affected by these expressions of esteem and confidence, gave, in his reply, such assurances of zeal, fidelity and gratitude as would have removed all doubt from the most suspicious of men. This was the last struggle of his expiring firmness, which ceased to exist when his friend disappeared. Having no longer before his eyes the only man who had influence over him, he abandoned himself entirely to his irresolution.

The description which Renault, at the close of his address, had given of the night of the execution, had affected him to such a degree, that he could not repress his emotions of pity. His imagination rendered the picture more vivid. It presented to him, in the liveliest colors, the injustice and the cruelties, that, on such occasions, must inevitably be committed. From that moment, he heard nothing but the cries of children trodden to death, the groans of old men slaughtered, and the shrieks of women dishonored. He saw only palaces demolished, temples on fire, sacred places polluted with blood. Venice, sorrowing, miserable Venice, was constantly before his eyes, not, as formerly, triumphant over Ottoman fortune and Spanish haughtiness, but in ashes, or in chains, and immersed in the blood of her inhabitants more than in the waters that surrounded her.

This horrible image besieges him night and day, pursues, oppresses, shocks him. In vain does he

strive to dismiss it from view. More obstinate than the furies of fable, it stands before him, at every repeat ; it disturbs his slumbers, it mingles with his dreams.—But, to betray all his friends ! and such friends ! courageous, intelligent, each in his peculiar faculty surpassing all others ; centuries must pass before again such a number of extraordinary men could be united in one undertaking. Could he, at the moment which was to render them memorable forever, snatch from them the fruit, then ready to be gathered, of the grandest design ever contrived by a private individual ? And how would they perish ? In torments more ingenious and more terrible than the tyrants of barbarous ages had ever invented. Who knows not that there is, in Venice, a prison more capable of annihilating the firmness of a man of courage than the most frightful punishments of other countries ? These last reflections, operating upon the amiable weakness of Jaffier, strengthened his first resolutions. The pity he felt for his companions became as powerful as that which the ruin of Venice excited ; and he continued irresolute until the feast of Ascension, to which time the execution of the enterprise had been deferred.

The next morning they received news from the captain. He sent word that he would answer for the fleet ; that it would sail to the neighbourhood of Marano ; that, when they sent to the lazaretto for the troops of Lievestein, they must also despatch a boat to give him notice ; and that on receiving this notice,

he would begin to act in his department. The pilots, which had been promised, were sent to Hailot. Men, suborned for the purpose, and intimate with those who kept guard in the Procuracy of St. Marks, were introduced into the belfry, or tower, where the guard were stationed ; and, by means of drugs mixed with their liquor, which they were persuaded to drink to excess on account of the public rejoicings of the day, stupified their faculties and caused them to sleep profoundly. Certain officers were ordered to take possession of the houses of the senators most to be feared, and to kill them. The house which each was to attack was designated, and to each of the other officers, or chiefs, a particular duty was assigned. Each was instructed what number of men he was to command, where he would find them, the word by which he would know them, and the route by which he was to conduct them. The troops at the lazaretto, the Spaniards belonging to the squadron, the thousand Hollanders yet remaining in Venice, were also told in what direction they were to leave the square of St. Marks which was the general rendezvous, the posts they were to seize, the officers appointed to command them, and the word by which each might be recognised. Men, not liable to suspicion, were sent to examine the council barge, and others ascertained that the artillery was in complete order.

Jaffier had the curiosity to witness the ceremony of the doge espousing the sea, it being the last time that ceremony was to be performed. The sight of

the public festivities redoubled his compassion ; the tranquil enjoyments of the devoted Venetians presented to his mind, in still stronger colors, their approaching desolation ; and he returned from the scene more irresolute than ever. In fine, Heaven decreed that the work of twelve centuries, and many wise patriots, should not be abandoned to the fury of a courtesan, and of a band of desperate zealots.

The guardian genius of the republic suggested to Jaffier an expedient by which, as he imagined, he might, at the same time, save Venice and his companions. He went to Bartholomew Comino, secretary of the council of ten, and told him that he had something to reveal, which was of great importance to the safety of the republic ; but he required, as a previous and indispensable condition, that the doge and the council should promise him a favor, and engage, by the most sacred oaths, that their promise should be ratified by the senate ; that this favor was the lives of twenty-two persons whom he would name, whatever crime they might have committed ; and he assured him that they need not hope, without granting this favor, to force his secret from him, for no tortures, however horrible, could oblige him to utter a word. The Ten and the doge were instantly assembled ; they did not hesitate to make the promise exacted by Jaffier ; and he, well satisfied with the course he was pursuing, disclosed to them the whole conspiracy.

The disclosure appeared to them so incredible and so horrible, that they could not believe it. Never-

theless, as it was easy to ascertain the truth, they despatched Comino to the belfry of the Procuracy. He returned with intelligence that all the guard were intoxicated or asleep. He was then sent to the arsenal. He sought a long time for the officers; but at length a servant, terrified by his threats, showed him a small door, which, after knocking in vain several times, he forced open. He found them with the three petardiers, who were engaged in finishing the fire-works to be used by the conspirators. He asked them what induced them to labor on such a day of rejoicing, and why they did not open the door when he knocked. They replied, with much ingenuity, that the petardiers were obliged to set out, the next day, to join the fleet; that the admiral had ordered them to carry on board a quantity of fire-works ready for use; that, not having so many prepared as he required, they had requested the others to assist them; that as it might be of great importance that the fire-works should be finished, they thought it their duty to abstain from partaking of the public festivities; and that, to avoid scandal, they had shut themselves up, as he had found them, in the most private apartment of the arsenal. To this answer Comino could make no reply, but he arrested them.

The Ten, more and more alarmed, sent immediately to the residence of the Greek courtesan, but there they found no one. The men who had administered opiates to the guard in the belfry, had, when Comino entered, feigned to be asleep like the others;

but the instant he departed, they hastened to her house, and gave the alarm. Without losing a moment, Nolot, Robert, Revellido, Villa-mezzana, Durand, Ternon, and Robert Brulard, who happened to be there, leaped into one of the boats, which had been procured to bring the troops from the lazaretto, and fled safely from Venice.

Chagrined at their escape, the Council resolved to visit immediately the houses of the ambassadors of France and Spain. Entrance was civilly demanded, on business which concerned the safety of the republic. The French ambassador cheerfully admitted them ; and Renault, Laurent Brulard, and de Bribe were arrested. But the Spanish ambassador angrily refused. He claimed all the privileges of his station, and when they entered forcibly he protested with spirit against the violence they committed. They found in his house arms for more than five hundred men, sixty petards, an immense quantity of powder, artificial fire-works, and other things of a similar nature. Of all an exact inventory was taken which he sportingly and jeeringly assisted to draw up.

Before this inventory was transmitted to the council, a nobleman of the house of Valiera arrived with Brainville and Theodore, two of the principal conspirators. They had just heard that all was discovered ; and that the gates of the city had been closed immediately after the flight of the courtesan. Having, therefore, no hope of escape, they resolved to display their willingness to reveal the conspiracy, and waited

upon this nobleman, whom they had known in Flanders, and desired him to conduct them to the council of ten, where they were arrested. In the meantime, all the boarding houses, taverns, houses of ill fame, and other places where foreigners would be likely to conceal themselves, were visited ; and all the Dutch, French, Spanish, Walloon, Neapolitan, and Milanese officers were arrested, amounting, in the whole, to near five hundred.

In the midst of these occurrences, two Dauphinese, coming from Orange, presented themselves to the council, in boots, as they leaped from the boats that brought them. They declared that, having received letters from Frenchmen in Venice, stating that, if they wished to enrich themselves, they had nothing to do but to come to the city immediately, for a conspiracy had been formed, and was just ready to be executed, to get possession of the city, and give it up to pillage, they had come in great haste, to give information of the plot. They received the thanks of the council, were conducted to convenient lodgings, and desired to repose themselves until the senate could determine what recompense was due to them.

In the morning, the senate assembled, and the marquis of Bedmar demanded an audience. It was granted merely from curiosity. The report of the conspiracy had spread through the city, and produced a frightful agitation. The people, who had heard that the Spaniards were the authors of it, collected around the house of the ambassador, determined to

enter it by force ; and they were about to set fire to it, when the persons arrived who were to conduct him to the audience. The orders they had received being announced, the people, presuming the senate would inflict an exemplary punishment, permitted him to leave his house, but followed, loading him with reproaches and imprecations.

The ambassador, entering the Senate, began by complaining indignantly against the violence which had been committed in his house contrary to the laws of nations ; and he threatened so fiercely to be revenged, that he frightened most of the senators, who feared that this man still had means, with which they were unacquainted, to accomplish his enterprise. The doge answered that they would apologise to him for this outrage when he, who, being an ambassador, ought to be a minister of peace, had given some account of the provisions and munitions of war, which had been discovered at his house. He replied that he was astonished that men, who had the reputation of men of sense, should be so disingenuous as to insult him to his face upon a pretext so gross ; that they knew, as well as he, that the provisions were merely deposited in his house for safe keeping, as others before had been, to be sent to Naples and the Tyrol ; that, in regard to the arms, the whole world knew that none were so excellent as those made in the cities of the republic ; and, as to the fire-works, and other similar things, certain artists of extraordinary skill having offered him their services, he had employed them to gratify his curiosity.

The doge interrupted him, declaring that these artists were wretches, or rather monsters, born for the eternal disgrace of mankind ; and presented to him a letter of credit for the governor of Milan, which, with other letters from the duke of Ossuna, had been found among the papers of Renault.

The ambassador answered that, as to the duke of Ossuna, he had already declared that he had no connection with him, and was not responsible for his conduct ; that, as to the letter of credit, it was true that the French ambassador had, a short time ago, recommended to him a gentleman who, having business of his own at Milan, was in need of assistance, and he had given him the letter which had just been shown to him ; but he was entirely ignorant that the business of this gentleman had the slightest connection with the interests or welfare of the republic.

The doge, perceiving from these answers that the assurance of the ambassador would never fail him, contented himself with representing to him, in a solemn and dignified manner, the atrociousness of his design, and concluded by declaring that they had not the slightest suspicion that he acted with the knowledge of the king his master. The ambassador replied, with all the indignant earnestness of a high-minded man, when his honor is unjustly attacked, that he belonged to a nation, so distinguished for valor and prudence, that it need not have recourse to dishonorable acts to destroy its enemies ; that the king his master was sufficiently powerful, as they would soon

find, to vanquish them, by open force, without resorting to treachery. He then hastily and without ceremony left the hall. Those who attended him besought him to repose himself, a short time, in an adjoining apartment, until the senate should have given the necessary order for his protection ; and he permitted them to conduct him where they thought proper, making no reply, and trembling with passion.

While the populace were gathering in the square, with the intent to tear him in pieces as soon as the senate had dismissed him, a few persons were despatched to his house, who directed his family to go on board a vessel in the harbor, and conveyed thither his most valuable furniture. They then, returning to him, conducted him through secret passages in the palace to a brigantine well armed and defended by a strong escort. The populace, enraged at his escape, made an effigy of him and of the duke of Ossuna, and treated them in the same manner they would have treated their persons had they fallen into their hands.

Orders, at the same time, were sent to the admiral to cause Langlade, the captain James Pierre, and all his confidential officers, to be thrown into the sea. As it was supposed that they would be on their guard, a vessel of a shape and appearance the most uncommon in Venice, was selected to carry this order ; she was equipped like a foreign vessel, and made a long circuit that she might approach the fleet in a direction different from that in which she would naturally have

come, had she sailed from the city. It was afterwards known that the captain had been all night on the watch, and that, having seen this vessel arrive, he immediately repaired to his principal ship, as if he had apprehended the truth, and had resolved to make preparations to defend himself in case he was betrayed. But probably the fear of ruining his enterprise, by an apprehension which might be groundless, kept him some time in deliberation what course to pursue ; for the admiral, who lost not a moment, sent two men on whom he could rely, who, concealing their arms, boarded his vessel and finding him alone, accosted him with their usual frankness, stabbed him instantly and cast him into the sea, without being seen by any one. Langlade and forty of his officers were treated in the same manner and with the same secrecy.

Renault, when interrogated at Venice, replied that he knew nothing in relation to the enquiries made of him. They showed him the letter of credit for don Pedro, a passport in Spanish for all the dependencies of Spain, bills of exchange for large sums, and a thousand pistoles in gold. He answered that he was not acquainted, either with the Spanish ambassador or the governor of Milan ; that, therefore, if any thing, which had reference to them, had been found among his papers, it must have been placed there by others ; and that, in regard to the bills of exchange and the gold, they were all the property he had in the world. He was put to the torture ordinary and extraordinary ; but he said nothing further, except that he

was a poor old man, honest, noble, and honorable, and God would avenge him. On several successive days, the instruments of torture were displayed before him, and he was even promised impunity if he would relate all he knew, but in vain : and, after having, at different times, been tortured in every mode that could be devised, he was strangled in prison, and hung up in public, by one of his feet, as a traitor. The lieutenant of the count of Nassau, the three petardiars, Bribe, Laurent Brulard, and the two officers of the arsenal, were also strangled, after having endured the torture with equal constancy ; but Brainville, Theodore, and upwards of three hundred officers were, without suffering the torture, privately strangled or drowned.

In the meantime Jaffier, rendered miserable by the cruel effects of his compassion, complained loudly that the doge and the council had not kept the promise they had made him in favor of his companions. This promise had not been violated until after mature consideration. Many, in fact, were of opinion that it ought to be religiously observed. Others represented that the question might have been a doubtful one, had a knowledge of the conspiracy been obtained from Jaffier only, but the two Dauphinese, who had also disclosed it, invested the senate with full right to act as though Jaffier had disclosed nothing. This opinion, supported by the general horror and consternation, was adopted by the majority, although many arguments might have been advanced against it.

To appease Jaffier, every expedient was resorted to. He was urged to accept of money and employment. He refused every thing, and persisted in demanding, though in vain, the lives of his friends ; and after their execution he left Venice inconsolable. The senate, when informed of his departure, sent him an order to quit the territories of the republic, in three days, under pain of death, and four thousand sequins, which he was compelled to receive. The pity which he felt for his friends redoubled whenever he reflected that he had been the cause of their death. He ascertained, after leaving the city, that the enterprise against Brescia might yet be prosecuted successfully. His desire of vengeance impelled him to throw himself into that city. But he had scarcely entered it, when the ten, having gained knowledge of the project from the papers of the conspirators, despatched thither a body of troops, who took possession of the principal posts, and put to the sword several Spaniards who had been admitted within the walls. Jaffier was taken fighting at their head like a man who sought only to sell his life dearly ; and being brought to Venice, a few days afterwards, was drowned the next day after his arrival.

The death of this miserable man having restored tranquillity to this great city, the senate immediately demanded another minister from Madrid. Don Louis Bravo was appointed, and received orders to depart instantly for Venice ; and the marquis of Bedmar, according to custom, gave him instructions for his guid-

ance, which were almost wholly comprised in two particulars.

The first was, that the new ambassador should, on every occasion, loudly and explicitly censure the conduct of his predecessor, and should take pains, even in the most trivial matters, to exhibit a totally different demeanor. The other was, that, in all his negotiations concerning the rights and pretensions of the republic, he should consult, as his only guide, the *Squitinio della Liberta Veneta*, to which the marquis often refers, in terms which, though cautiously expressed, discover his paternal affection for this work.

In the meantime, proclamation was made, in all the dependencies of the republic, that no one, under pain of death, should impute to the king of Spain, nor to the Spaniards, any participation in the conspiracy ; and thirty thousand ducats were given to the two Dauphinese, who had come from their native country for the sole purpose of revealing it.

Don Pedro, perceiving all hope at an end, dismissed his troops and restored Vercelli. The duke of Ossuna made ample provision for the wife and children of the captain and released them from prison.

The marquis of Bedmar was appointed first minister in Flanders ; and, a short time afterwards, received, from Rome, a cardinal's hat.

CONSPIRACY
OF
JOHN LEWIS FIESCO
AGAINST
GENOA.

By

Reb, Jean Francois Paul de
Gondi, Cardinal de,

NOTE

The following is a list of the names of the persons who have been admitted to the membership of the Society since the last meeting. The names are given in alphabetical order of the surnames. The names of the persons who have been admitted to the membership of the Society since the last meeting are given in alphabetical order of the surnames. The names of the persons who have been admitted to the membership of the Society since the last meeting are given in alphabetical order of the surnames.

NOTE.

THE history of the Conspiracy of John Lewis Fiesco against Genoa was written, in his youth, by the celebrated cardinal De Retz. It displays such high admiration of Fiesco and his enterprise, that, on perusing it, cardinal Richelieu, then first minister of France, predicted that the young ecclesiastic would be a turbulent and dangerous character. It is well known that afterwards, when archbishop of Paris, he acted a conspicuous part in the insurrection of the Fronde. The reflections interspersed are characteristic of the author, and prove that he must at least have retouched it, after his judgment had been matured by experience.

CONSPIRACY,

&c. &c.

AT the beginning of the year 1547, the condition of the republic of Genoa might have been called fortunate, had it been more firmly established. She enjoyed, in appearance, an honorable tranquillity, obtained by her own arms, and secured by those of Charles V, whom she had chosen protector of her liberties. The weakness of her enemies relieved her from all fear of their ambitious designs ; and peace brought back into her borders that abundance which war had for a long time banished ; her trade revived to the visible advantage of the public and of individuals ; and, had her citizens been as contented as their condition was fortunate, this republic, in a short time, would, in the enjoyment of a profitable and happy repose, have recovered all she had lost. But divisions still existed among them, and the seeds of hatred, which previous quarrels had sown in their hearts, were dangerous relics, evincing too plainly that the body politic was not yet relieved from its maladies ; and that its indications of prosperity resembled the

apparent health of bloated countenances, in whose flesh fester a multitude of peccant humors. The nobility, who administered the government, could not forget the injuries which, when banished from power, they had received from the people. The people, on their part, regarded the domination of the nobility, as a new tyranny, subversive of the constitution of the republic. A portion even of the gentlemen, who aspired to a higher rank, did not disguise their envy of those above them. Those in authority ruled with insolence ; those in subjection obeyed with indignation ; and many imagined they obeyed because they could not rule with absolute sway. At this period, by the permission of Providence, an event occurred which, at once, confined forever the nobility in power and the people in servitude.

This event was the conspiracy of John Lewis Fiesco, count of Lavagna, a history of which will be rendered more intelligible and interesting by a relation of the events and circumstances which preceded and occasioned it.

At the time of those memorable wars, in which the emperor, Charles V, and Francis I, of France, desolated Italy, Andrew Doria, descended from one of the most illustrious families of Genoa, and the greatest naval commander of the age, supported with zeal the cause of France, and sustained upon the sea the reputation of that crown, with a courage and good fortune, which redounded as much to the advantage of his master as to his individual glory. But it is

frequently the fault of the greatest princes, that they do not treat with sufficient regard the men they employ, when they once consider themselves sure of their fidelity. It was for this reason that France lost the services of an able and important officer, and the loss produced such disastrous consequences that it will never be recollected without sorrow.

At the time when Doria was engaged, on terms highly advantageous to him, in the service of the king, as admiral of his gallies, those who were high in favor at court, and filled the principal seats in the councils of the kingdom, began to envy his glory, and to covet his station ; and they resolved to ruin the man whom they saw too powerful to court the favor of any one but his master. Knowing that it would not, at first, be either safe, or useful to their design, to speak of him unfavorably to the king, whose friendship was too strong to be suddenly changed to enmity, they pursued a more artful course ; and, uniting with the public in applauding the first services that he rendered to France, they resolved to give him causes of dissatisfaction, which might be attributed to the necessities of the nation rather than to their particular enmity, and which would, nevertheless, produce the effect they desired. They sought opportunities of eliciting complaints from this proud and arrogant hero, that they might the more easily ruin him in the opinion of the king ; and his own affairs were so often discussed in the council, that they, enjoying unlimited influence there, found too many occasions

of displeasing him. Sometimes the finances were too much exhausted to pay his exorbitant salary ; sometimes they paid him in depreciated paper ; sometimes his demands were decided to be unreasonable and unjust. At length the remonstrances, drawn from him by the wrongs he sustained, were, by the artifices of his enemies, represented as disrespectful to the king, who became weary and dissatisfied, and was, by degrees, induced to consider him a selfish, insolent, and intractable man. At last, they openly offended him, by refusing to pay him the ransom of his prisoner, the prince of Orange, whom his nephew, Philippin Doria, had taken before Naples, and whom, upon the order of the king, he had delivered into his hands. They demanded, and enforced their demand with threats, that he should also deliver up the marquis del Guasto and Ascanio Colonna, who had been made prisoners in the same battle. They neglected to perform the promise they had made him to restore Savona to the republic : and as, instead of concealing his resentment under the appearance of moderation, he manifested it openly, his enemies omitted no opportunity of inflaming it. M. de Barbezieux was ordered to take possession of his gallies, and even to arrest him if he should find it practicable. This course of proceeding was not only contrary to good faith but to the dictates of worldly prudence ; and the ministers of France cannot be too severely censured for having preferred their own interests to those of their king, and for having driven from his

service the only man who could sustain his cause in Italy. It may also be said that, having determined to ruin him, they ought to have done it at once and completely, and not have left him in a condition to inflict essential injury, not only upon France, but also upon themselves, by giving the king good reason to feel dissatisfied with their counsels, which were the source of such disasters to his kingdom.

Doria, seeing himself thus treated as a criminal, made known his complaints, in a public manifesto, and declared that he was not so sensibly affected by his private wrongs, as by the injustice of the king in refusing to restore, as he had often promised, the city of Savona to his dear country. He made an agreement himself with the marquis del Guasto, his prisoner, declared himself for the emperor, and accepted the command of his fleet. The conduct of this old politician was as malicious, at least, as that of the ministers of France, but was much more crafty and judicious. He cannot be exonerated from the charge of great ingratitude, for resolving, in a moment of anger, to be revenged on a prince to whom, it may be said, he was indebted for all his glory, as he had obtained his most brilliant testimonials of honor, in the command of his forces; and it is difficult to justify the treachery, base and unworthy his former actions, of which he was guilty, when he, at a time when he professed a desire to remain in the service of the king, directed Phillippin Doria, his lieutenant, to permit provisions to be conveyed into Naples, which was

then closely besieged by Mons. de Lautrec. But it must also be acknowledged that his conduct entitles him to a high rank in that class of politicians who are governed wholly by self interest ; for he exhibited such address in arraying appearances on his side, that his friends might speciously assign the king's breach of faith, in regard to his country, as the real cause of his change of party ; and his enemies could not deny that the treatment he had received had been extremely harsh and difficult to be endured ; and moreover he well knew that the secret means of obtaining a high consideration in a party is to render it, at the time of joining it, an important service. In fact, he chose his time so judiciously, and conducted his revolt so skilfully, that he preserved Naples for the emperor, which the French, had Philipppin Doria continued to serve them faithfully, would, in a few days, have wrested from him. His change of party occasioned the ruin of one of the greatest captains that France ever produced, and, in the sequel, placed the republic of Genoa under the protection of Spain, to which nation, she is, on account of her dominions in Italy, of vast importance ; and this was the first service which Andrew Doria rendered to the emperor after he had explicitly declared against the king.

This artful and ambitious man, who was well acquainted with all the intrigues, and the inclinations of the Genoese, found no difficulty in managing a people who have always been accused of a love of novelty. As he had, in the city, many friends and concealed

partisans, who gave him an account of all that happened, he took pains to exasperate the discontented, to create dissatisfaction in the minds of others, and to convince all that the French, retaining the whole power in their own hands, left to the Genoese only the shadow of sovereignty ; he held up to the view of the nobles, the image of the ancient government, which was placed entirely in their hands ; and, in fine, he intimated to all classes that a revolution would produce a general improvement of affairs.

His party being formed, he drew near to Genoa with his galleys, landed, and, without meeting any resistance, placed his troops in battle array. He then marched into the city, followed by those of his own party who had taken arms on a concerted signal. He took possession of the principal posts, and became master of the city almost without drawing his sword. Theodore Trivulcius, who commanded for the king of France, lost, in losing Genoa, all the reputation he had acquired in the wars of Italy ; for he neglected to crush the intrigues which, previous to the surrender, were carried on in the city, although he was apprised of their existence, and, to save his life and his wealth, he chose to make a disgraceful capitulation in the citadel, rather than to bury himself gloriously in the ruins of a city so important to the interests of his master.

The French were no sooner expelled from Genoa than the streets resounded with the name of Doria ; some, in these acclamations, conveying their real sen-

timents ; others, by shouts of dissembled joy, concealing opinions which they had formerly expressed, and contrary to those manifested by the public ; and the majority, as is generally the case, welcoming the new state of things for the sole reason of their novelty.

Doria, without suffering this ardor to cool, assembled the nobility, committed the government to their hands, and, protesting that he claimed no higher authority than any other gentleman, prescribed himself a constitution for the republic. Then, after receiving all imaginable demonstrations of the gratitude of his fellow citizens, he retired to his palace to enjoy, in repose, the fruit of his past labors ; and the republic erected to his honor a statue inscribed, *To the Father of his Country and the Restorer of Liberty.*

There are many who think that Doria had fully satisfied his ambition in restoring liberty to his country ; and that the general applause he received rather inspired him with the thought of enjoying in tranquillity the glory he had acquired, than of taking advantage of it to accomplish more elevated designs. Others cannot imagine that the important office which he had just accepted in the service of the emperor, and the pains he had taken to attach the nobility of Genoa to his family, could have proceeded from a disposition solicitous of repose, and entirely uninfluenced by self interest. They believe that he had too much discernment not to be aware that a sovereign in Genoa could not possibly continue on friendly terms with the court of Spain, and that he intended merely

to amuse that power by exhibiting an apparent moderation, and to defer his ambitious projects to a more favorable season.

His advanced age might, however, have diminished the apprehension which they entertained of the authority he exercised, had they not perceived a second self in possession of authority almost equal to his own. Giannettino Doria, his cousin and adopted son, then about twenty-eight years of age, was extremely vain, haughty, and overbearing. All the offices which Andrew held would be transmitted by inheritance to him ; and the nobility of Genoa were, for this reason, attached to his interests. His style of living was more splendid than that of a citizen unwilling to attract the envy of others, or to arouse the jealousy of republicans. He did not even conceal his contempt of those of noble birth. The extraordinary exaltation of this family produced the great commotion which will now be described, and gave to all nations a memorable admonition not to permit any individual to become so eminent as to inspire in others a wish to humble him, and afford a pretext for undertaking it.

John Lewis Fiesco, count of Lavagna, descended from the most ancient and illustrious family in Genoa, enjoying an annual income of more than two hundred thousand crowns, twenty-two years of age, endowed with every pleasing and noble faculty, ambitious, enterprising and brave, led, at this time, in Genoa, a life quite contrary to his inclinations. As he was passionately fond of glory, and was presented

with no opportunity of acquiring it, he was continually meditating upon the means of creating such opportunity. But, although, at that time, the state of affairs afforded him none, he yet might have expected that his talents would, at some future time, open to him the way to the glory he coveted, in serving his country, had the extraordinary power of Giannettino Doria, of which we have just spoken, permitted him to hope for employment ; but, as he was too illustrious by his birth, and too highly esteemed for his good qualities, not to excite the apprehension of the man who wished to enjoy all the reputation, and command all the forces of the republic, he was convinced that he could have no well founded hope, where his rival was almost omnipotent ; for nothing is more certain than that those who, in the highest stations, regard others with jealousy, never think of them but with a wish to effect their ruin. Aware, therefore, that he had every thing to apprehend from the elevation of Doria, and that he could have no hope of personal advancement, he felt impelled to endeavor, by his courage and address, to prevent the ill consequences of that grandeur which eclipsed his own ; well knowing that nothing is ever to be expected from those who impress others with fear, but an excessive distrust of all who are capable of rising by their own merit, and incessant endeavors to impede their progress.

Despairing from all these considerations, of attaining to eminence in the service of his country, he con-

ceived the design of humbling the family of Doria, before it had become more firmly established ; and as that family was identified with the government of the republic, he resolved to effect the ruin of the one by a revolution in the other.

Great rivers never do any damage when nothing interrupts their course ; but, meeting the slightest obstacle, they rage with violence, and an inconsiderable bank often causes them to overflow and drown those fields which otherwise they would have rendered fertile. And thus it is reasonable to suppose that if the ambition of Fiesco had not found the career of glory preoccupied by the Dorias, he would never have transgressed the bounds of moderation and duty, but would have devoted to the service of the republic those talents which almost effected its ruin.

These ambitious purposes of the count were encouraged by the representations of many, who expected to derive personal advantages from the public disorders ; and more especially by the pressing solicitations of the French, who addressed to him many arguments, and made him considerable offers, at first by the medium of Cæsar Fregosa and Canino Gonzague, and afterwards of Mons. du Bellai, who held secret conferences with him by the intervention of Peter Luke Fiesco.

It was generally believed, at that time, that Pope Paul III, hoping, by the same blow, to humble Andrew Doria, whom he hated for certain private reasons, and to deprive the emperor, already too power-

ful, of an able partisan in Italy, had labored assiduously to inflame the ambition of Fiesco, and had presented to him the strongest inducements to undertake his designs against Genoa.

No flattery is so grateful to a man of spirit, and nothing impels him to such perilous enterprises, as to be courted by persons greatly superior to others in dignity or reputation. This mark of their esteem inspires him with high confidence in himself, and persuades him that he is capable of conducting successfully the most important affairs. The project which Fiesco had conceived was thus made to appear to him glorious and easy to be executed ; for he was urged to undertake it by the greatest prince in Europe, and by the ablest statesman of the age. The one was Francis I, who directed Peter Strozzi, when passing, with his troops, over the mountains near Genoa, to convey to him his wishes ; and the other was cardinal Augustine Trivulcius, protector of France at the court of Rome, from whom he received all imaginable honors, when, apparently for the gratification of his curiosity, but in reality to communicate his design to the Pope and ascertain his sentiments, he visited that city.

The Cardinal, whose reputation was then at its height, and who was considered a very sagacious politician, succeeded in inflaming the ambition of Fiesco, a passion which naturally had too much dominion over him. He exhibited to him, in the manner best calculated to excite his jealousy, the present

greatness of Giannettino Doria, and the future greatness he was endeavoring to secure by the connections he was forming ; and, augmenting thus the envy which the former, and the apprehension which the latter excited, he insinuated that it must be intolerable to a man of spirit to live in a republic where the career of honor was closed against him, and where noble birth and exalted merit gave him no advantage above ordinary men.

After he had confirmed him in his purpose, he offered him, on the part of France, all the aid he might desire. His urgent representations had such effect upon a mind already inclined to yield, that the count, at length, with evident satisfaction, expressed an intention of accepting the command of six gallies in the service of the king, of two hundred men of the garrison of Montobio, of a company of infantry, and a pension of twelve thousand crowns, declaring, nevertheless, that he would not give a definite answer until after his return to Genoa. So true it is, that, in affairs of importance, nothing is more difficult than to form, at once, a decisive resolution ; a multitude of considerations, each balancing another, crowd together into the mind, and give rise to the fear that sufficient time has not been devoted to deliberation.

Extraordinary actions resemble explosions of thunder, which are never loud, nor their effects dangerous, except where the exhalations which occasion them have been a long time struggling with each other. When there is nothing but a mass of vapors, a

low sound only is produced, which, far from terrifying, is scarcely heard. It is thus with resolutions in great affairs. When they enter at once into the mind, and meet only with feeble resistance, it is an infallible sign that they make only a slight and transient impression, which may indeed occasion some agitation, but will never produce any important effect.

It cannot justly be denied that Fiesco had reflected materially upon the project which he was desirous of undertaking ; for, after his return to Genoa, anxious as he was to execute it, he hesitated, a long time, in determining which of the various routes, leading to his object, he should select. Sometimes the offered aid of a powerful king inclined him to adopt the resolution of throwing himself into the arms of the French ; at other times, the distrust of foreigners, which all naturally feel, joined to certain aspirations of glory, which impel a man to reject all participation of others in the brilliant actions he intends to perform, inclined him to hope that he might find, in his own resources, means bearing some proportion to his great designs ; and perhaps these different reflections would have long agitated his bosom, and occasioned considerable delay, had he not daily had new and just causes of indignation at the insupportable arrogance of Giannettino Doria, who, in addition to his general insolence of behaviour, treated the count, after his return, with such particular haughtiness, that he could not restrain his anger, and openly declared that he

would not submit to the disgraceful servitude to which his fellow citizens were subjected.

Politicians, following the general maxims, that every feeling of anger against those we hate, should be suppressed until the opportunity occurs of striking a fatal blow, have censured this conduct of the count as injudicious. But it must be acknowledged that, if his prudence failed him, on this occasion, it is a fault to which lofty natures are liable. Contemptuous treatment irritates them so suddenly and so violently that they cannot wait to take counsel of their reason, nor to acquire the mastery over themselves. This fault proves him guiltless, at least, of the charge which some historians have made against him, that he was naturally of a dark and dissembling temper, more covetous than ambitious, and more strongly attached to interest than to glory. This warmth, I say, which his conduct displayed, proves that he was actuated by a love of glory, and by a laudable ambition, for all, who have embarked in similar designs, from a love of domination, and from other views than the acquisition of honorable fame, have previously submitted patiently to shameful humiliations.

It is certain that Giannettino Doria was intolerably insolent, and that, in all respects, he followed the wicked maxim, that severity and haughtiness are the best methods of governing, and that it is useless to conciliate by kindness those who may be controlled by interest or fear. This conduct, increasing the aversion of the count, strengthened the resolution

which he had found to destroy him, and afforded him the opportunity of making use, to humble him, of the effects of that haughtiness with which he endeavored to humble all others.

The Cardinal Augustine Trivulcius, aware that, on such occasions, it is dangerous to give to the zeal of young men a time to cool, immediately after the count's return to Genoa, despatched Nicholas Foderato, a gentleman of Savona, and a relation of the family of Fiesco, to obtain his decisive answer. He found him more incensed than ever, and easily persuaded him to stipulate whatever he desired. He then returned, without delay, to procure the ratification of the treaty by the ministers of the king, who were, at that time, at Rome. But having proceeded thirty or forty leagues, he was overtaken by a courier and recalled, the count having reflected that he had been too precipitate, and that he ought not to have concluded an agreement of that importance without having conferred with those friends whose judgments he confided in. He assembled three of them, on whose fidelity he could implicitly rely, and whom he highly esteemed for their good qualities; and after having declared that he had resolved to endure no longer the present government of the republic, he requested their advice upon the subject.

Vincent Caleagno of Varesa, a zealous servant of the family, discreet but timid, began his discourse with the freedom which his long services entitled him to use; and, addressing the count, spoke as follows :

“ It seems to me that there is much reason to compassionate the misfortune of those who embark in important undertakings. They cast themselves, as it were, upon a tempestuous ocean, where no spot is visible that is not marked by a shipwreck. And it ought to increase our fears to see young men, whom we love, exposed to this danger : for they have not the strength to encounter the labors of such a voyage, nor the experience to avoid the rocks, or steer safely to port. All your servants ought to feel a lively interest in the designs which your courage prompts you to undertake. Permit me to say, that this is above your age, and the station you occupy. Your thoughts are bent on affairs, which require a higher consideration in the world than a man of your age, however fortunate he may have been, can possibly have obtained ; and the design you have formed demands forces which one of the greatest kings of the age has never been able to raise. These thoughts arise in your mind from two modes of false reasoning, which are, as it were, inherent in the nature of man. Himself is apt to engross too much of his thoughts ; that is to say, he assumes that he can do, whatever his imagination tells him he may do ; and he seldom forms a safe judgment of others, because he makes himself the criterion by which he judges, considering only what they can do, and not what they ought nor what their interests may lead them to do. The first error is exceedingly dangerous, because, as no one can perform an important enterprise alone,

and as many others must be consulted, it is highly important that they also should think it rational and practicable ; otherwise he, who undertakes it, will find few friends who are willing to follow his fortunes. The second error is even more common and not less dangerous, because those very persons, from whom much assistance is anticipated, are often found to make the strongest opposition. Be careful, therefore, that the great talents which nature has given you, and which you may, perhaps justly, imagine will supply the deficiency of experience, do not betray you into the first error ; and consider that, brilliant as they are, they may not produce, in the minds even of those best disposed to serve you, that strength of attachment which will be necessary for the execution of an enterprise so difficult and dangerous. And it is still more unlikely that they should so dazzle your enemies, as to prevent them from making use, with effect, of the pretence that you are yet a young man. Be careful, also, that your illustrious birth, and the reputation which you have acquired by your good qualities ; that your immense wealth and the secret understandings which you, perhaps, have entered into, do not betray you into the second error, and induce you to believe that those who have promised to assist you will not desert you in time of need. Dismiss therefore that thought, or if you do not entertain it, cease to judge others by yourself, but judge them by the relations in which they stand. Consider their interests ; reflect that it is that which actuates and

governs almost every one ; that most of those who respect and love you, love themselves infinitely more, and dread injury to themselves much more than they desire success to you. In fine, consider that those who encourage you to hope for their assistance are either foreigners or your fellow-citizens. Of the first, the most considerable are the French. They cannot assist you, for, at present, their whole strength is needed to defend themselves in their own country, against the armies of the empire and of Spain. Those who can assist you, the Genoese, will not. Some will be terrified by the dangers which are incident to affairs of this nature ; and others, governed by interest, will fear the loss of their repose or their fortunes. Most of those, not influenced by these considerations, are persons of such mean birth and little influence, that no assistance can be expected from them. Wherefore, the unbounded authority of Doria, and the evil condition of the times, which inspire you with thoughts of revolt, ought rather to teach you patience, for they have so dispirited the Genoese that they now esteem it an honor to surrender to his authority that independence which he has restored to them, and which he wrested from foreigners only that he might usurp it himself. Are you not aware, that, for a long time, this republic has enjoyed only the shadow of a free government, and that it can no longer exist without a master ? Do you not perceive that the family of Doria is gradually attaching to its interests the greater portion of the nobility, by the

naval appointments it confers? and that, favored by the empire and Spain, it holds all the rest in fear? Do you not perceive, I say, that all the Genoese are sunk, as it were, into a profound lethargy; and that even those, who have most spirit, do not think it dishonorable to give way to that mighty power, provided they do not debase themselves by worshipping it. I do not pretend to justify the republic for its imprudence in permitting the elevation of this family, which it can no longer endure without disgrace, nor humble without danger; but I dare maintain that an individual cannot reasonably hope, by his own means, to remove an evil which has become so deeply rooted; and that all which an honorable man can do, in such a juncture, is to imitate those prudent mariners, who, instead of struggling obstinately with the wind to reach a port, seek the open sea, and submit, without resistance, to the force of the storm. Yield, therefore, to the times, while fate so ordains; seek not for remedies where none are to be found that are not worse than the disease. Await them from the hand of Providence, which rules, as it pleases, the destinies of states, and which will never desert this republic. Enjoy, in contentment, the repose, and the advantages, which your birth secures you, or seek the lawful opportunities, afforded by foreign wars, to exercise your valour.

“Expose not to the hazard of a criminal revolt the great fortune you possess, and which would satisfy the ambition of any other person; and be assured

that, if Giannetino envies or hates your merit, you cannot gratify him more than by following your present inclination, for you will afford him an opportunity of pursuing his private resentment under the pretext of public good, and of making use of the authority of the state to destroy you ; and, in fine, you will labor yourself to erect, upon your own ruins, trophies of his glory and power. They, who rise without effort to eminent stations, most commonly fall of themselves ; because, if they possess ambition, and the qualities which enable them to rise, they are generally destitute of those which are necessary to sustain them ; and when one, whom fortune has borne to these lofty stations, reaches the height without stumbling, he must have encountered, from the beginning, many difficulties which taught him to stand firm on a place so slippery. Cæsar possessed, in an eminent degree, all the qualities necessary to a great prince, yet neither his courtesy, his prudence, his courage, his eloquence, nor his liberality could have raised him to the empire of the world, had he not met with resistance in the Roman republic. The pretext afforded by the persecution of Pompey ; the reputation which their contests with each other gave him an opportunity to acquire ; the advantages he derived from the division among his fellow citizens, were what, in reality, raised him to power ; and yet it appears to me that you are laboring to strengthen the family of Doria, by procuring it the only advantage it has not possessed ; and because its high fortune has been too

easily attained to be firmly secured, you resolve, in your impatience, to fortify it by efforts which, being too feeble to overthrow it, will serve only to justify his designs and establish his authority.

“ But I will, if you please, adopt your sentiments, and suppose that you have succeeded in all your designs. Imagine that all the family of Doria are massacred, and that all the nobility, who belong to his party, are in irons ; imagine all your enemies overthrown, and Spain and the empire unable to molest you ; enjoy the certainty of a triumph in the midst of this universal desolation : If these gloomy images of destruction afford you pleasure, what course will you pursue in a city rendered desolate by you, and which will regard you rather as a new tyrant than as her deliverer ? What solid foundation will you be able to find on which you can support your acquired greatness ? Could your confidence in the instability of the Genoese, who, the instant you have placed the crown on your head, if such be your intention, will, perhaps, regard you with horror, and think of nothing but the means of wresting it from you ? For, as I have already observed, they are not capable of enjoying liberty, nor will they long endure the same master. Or should you again surrender Genoa to the domination of foreigners ; should you again open your gates to admit them, on the first act of oppression which they commit, she will consider you as the author of her ruin, and as the parricide of your country. Do you not fear that those, who are now the most zealous to

serve you, will, from an unwillingness to be subject to your power, be the first to labor for your overthrow? And even if this feeling should not impel them to act thus, you cannot be ignorant that those who serve a rebel imagine they lay him under such strong obligations, that, as he can never reward them according to their claims, they almost always become his enemies. As those who fall down a mountain are torn to pieces by the same projecting rocks which they caught hold of to ascend, so those who fall from an exalted station are almost always ruined by the means which they had employed to rise. I am well aware that ambition animates persons of your condition, age, and talents, and that it places before your eyes pompous and dazzling images of glory and grandeur. But while your imagination exhibits to you all the objects of that passion which renders men illustrious, your judgment ought to regard it as that which most commonly renders them miserable, and as that which sacrifices certain good, for the attainment of uncertain hopes. Know that if, when properly directed, it is the source of the noblest virtues, its excess also leads to the greatest crimes. Consider that it was ambition which formerly mingled so many poisons and sharpened so many poniards against usurpers and tyrants, and that it is the same passion which now urges you to become the Catiline of Genoa.

“Do not flatter yourself that the motive, by which you are actuated, of preserving the liberty of the republic, will be considered by the world as any thing

more than the common pretence of all leaders of factions ; and though nothing, in truth, but zeal for the public good, impels you to embark in this undertaking, yet do not expect that the world will ever do you the justice to believe it ; since, in all cases where actions may be attributed indifferently to vice or to virtue, and where the intention alone of the actor can justify them, mankind, who judge only from appearances, rarely put a favorable construction upon the most innocent ones. But in your enterprise, in whatever light you view it, you can see nothing but massacres and objects the most dismal, which the best intentions in the world cannot justify. Strive, then, to control your ambition ; and remember that you ought then only to follow its dictates, when it divests itself entirely of self-interest, and is guided solely by duty. There have been many conquerors who have ravaged nations and overturned thrones, and who did not possess that greatness of soul which regards, with equal eye, the highest elevation and the lowest abasement, success and misfortune, pleasure and pain, life and death, and yet it is this love of true glory, this nobleness of soul, which makes men really great, and which raises them above the rest of the world. This species of glory, and this alone, can render you perfectly happy, even should all the dangers, which you imagine, surround you ; and you cannot obtain the other without committing the blackest crimes. Seek this, therefore, for so prudence as well as virtue dictates, it being more useful, less dangerous, and more honorable."

The count was sensibly affected by this discourse, the arguments appearing strong, and the confidence, which, from his earliest youth, he had reposed in the speaker, increasing their weight and force. Verrina, one of those who had been invited to the council, a man of extensive views, impetuous, fond of great enterprises, an implacable enemy of the present government, almost ruined by his prodigality, strongly attached by interest and inclination to the count, immediately spoke thus in reply :

“ I should be astonished that a single man in Genoa, should be capable of uttering the sentiments you have just heard, if the sufferings, which the republic patiently endures, had left me the faculty of being astonished at any thing. When every one submits to oppression with such shameful servility, it is natural to conceal dissatisfaction, and to seek excuses for weakness. This insensibility is nevertheless a proof of the deplorable condition of the republic ; and Vincent Calcagno has correctly referred to it as the plainest symptom of the violence of our malady. But to me it seems unreasonable that we should reap no advantage from the knowledge which we have of our disease ; for nature itself instructs us, that we ought to be guided by it in applying the proper remedies. However, the health of this republic is not yet as desperate as if all its members were corrupt ; and the count Fiesco, exalted in rank, in wealth, and in birth, above all others, directs his thoughts beyond the limited views of the Genoese, and rises, by his courage,

above the general corruption. To ascertain whether a man is born for extraordinary actions, the advantages of nature and fortune ought not solely to be regarded, for there have been many persons who have possessed both in perfection, yet, during their whole lives, have remained in the beaten path of ordinary men ; but we ought to observe whether a man, enjoying these advantages, retains, in conjunctions pregnant with evil, and in a country where tyranny is making rapid strides, the sentiments of virtue, and preserves from corruption the noble qualities with which nature endowed him ; for if, in these circumstances, he holds fast his integrity, and resists the contagion of those base maxims which infect the rest of the world, and especially men of rank, (for tyrants, fearing them most, take most pains to corrupt them ;) then we may presume that his reputation will, at some future time, be equal to his merit, and that fortune designs him for something great, and even wonderful. Wherefore, sir, I know of no person from whom the republic may, with reason, expect such signal interposition as from you. You live in a time which presents you with no example of courage and generosity that is not punished, nor of baseness and treachery that is not rewarded. Add to this, you live in a country where the power of the house of Doria depresses, with abject fear, the courage of all the nobility, or holds them bound in the servile fetters of interest ; and yet you have not fallen into this general degradation. You still cherish those noble sentiments

which your illustrious birth inspires ; and your mind projects undertakings worthy of your valor. Do not forbear, therefore, to exercise those admirable qualities ; abuse not the talents which nature has conferred ; serve your country ; be convinced, by the excellence of your motives, that the actions they will produce must be great and glorious. A single individual of your rank and merit is capable of restoring the courage of the Genoese and of reviving their pristine love of liberty. Be persuaded that tyranny is the greatest evil that can afflict a republic. The condition, to which ours is reduced, resembles those diseases which, notwithstanding the dejection they produce, excite, in the mind of the patient, a vehement desire of recovery. Comply with the wishes of the whole people, who groan under the unjust domination of Doria. Second the prayers of the virtuous portion of the nobility, who deplore, in secret, the common calamity of the Genoese ; and be assured, in fine, that, if weakness and baseness continue to spread among them, the blame will not rest so much upon Giannettino Doria for having produced it, by his insolence, as upon John Lewis Fiesco for having permitted it, by his irresolution.

“The high esteem which your good qualities have procured you, is an important advantage which you have already gained. Let it not be said that your youth is an obstacle to the success of an enterprise so glorious ; it is an age when the warmth of the blood, the source of the noblest courage, inspires

none but elevated and generous designs ; and, in extraordinary undertakings, vigor and intrepidity are more requisite than the cool reflections of timid prudence which perceives all the dangers of a contemplated project. Besides, your reputation is so well established that I may say, without flattery, that, with all the charms of youth to attract friends, you have acquired that credit in the world which is ordinarily acquired only at a more advanced age. You are therefore, and it is fortunate that you are, under a strong obligation to maintain the high opinion which the public entertain of your virtue.

“ Convinced of your disinterestedness, I know not whether I ought to add, to the considerations arising out of the misfortunes of our republic, motives which concern you personally ; but as there are conjunctures when interest is so closely connected with honor, that it is almost as disgraceful not to consult, as it is, at other times, noble to despise it, I beseech you to reflect in what situation you would be, should the present government continue much longer. Those who unite great merit to exalted birth have always two powerful enemies ; the envy of courtiers and the hatred of those who fill the highest offices. It is extremely difficult to escape the first when one possesses splendid establishments ; and it is impossible to avoid the second, when one has independence of spirit and a high consideration in the world. Prudence and civility may indeed allay the jealousy which interest excites among equals, but they can never entirely dispel

the distrust which a regard for their own safety plants in the minds of superiors. There are virtues so excellent and imposing that they force envy itself to render them homage. But, at the same time that they gain a victory over envy, they exasperate hatred. Hatred increases as merit rises; and virtue, in these circumstances, resembles a vessel tossed by a tempest, which has no sooner surmounted one wave, than it encounters another more formidable than the first.

“Can you be ignorant that Giannetino Doria feels a secret envy of your birth, so much more illustrious than his own? of your wealth, more honestly acquired than that which he possesses? and of your reputation which surpasses by far whatever he can hope to attain? What reason have you to suppose, that the envy growing out of these considerations, and instigated by a vehement ambition, will give rise, in the mind of this imperious man, to nothing but feeble and irresolute purposes, and that it will not aim directly at your ruin? Can you hope that when, by your prudence and by the force of your virtue, you shall have conquered his envy, you will be able to escape that hatred which the contrariety of your dispositions naturally produces in his breast; and that his haughty spirit, which the prudence of Andrew Doria has hitherto restrained, will longer tolerate the man who is the only obstacle to his designs? As for me, I am persuaded that the consequences I have alluded to are inevitable, because you cannot divest yourself of the qualities that will produce them, nor change your

nature and cease to be generous. But should it even be in your power to conceal, under a modest exterior, that loftiness of soul which raises you so far above common men, do you believe that Giannettino Doria, jealous as he is, and as all tyrants are, will not feel a constant distrust of your conduct ? All the marks of your moderation and patience would seem to him artifices designed to ensnare and undo him. He would not consider it possible that a man, bearing the name of Fiesco, could be capable of such baseness ; and judging, rationally, that you were what you ought to be, he would make use, for your ruin, of that apparent submission which you would assume for your safety. All the difference, therefore, between what you now are, and what you would then be, would be merely this, that you would then certainly perish with eternal infamy ; when, by following the generous impulses of your nature, you may be assured that the only misfortune that can happen to you will be, to die in a glorious enterprise, and to obtain, in dying, the highest honor that was ever acquired by a private individual.

“ If you perceive these things, and doubtless your sagacity enables you to perceive them more clearly than I, there is no necessity for me to say more concerning them ; I request you merely to regard two important consequences which may be deduced from them. The first is, that those maxims are false which forbid us to anticipate an enemy who has determined to ruin us, and advise us to wait until he

ruins himself. We deceive ourselves, if we believe that fortune raises to the highest stations those whom we hate, to give us the pleasure of witnessing their fall. Greatness is not always surrounded by precipices ; usurpers have not always been unfortunate ; Heaven, in fine, does not always, at the expected moment, punish the wicked, that the righteous may be gratified, and be preserved from the injustice of those who would oppress them. Nature, more infallible than politicians, teaches us to prevent the evil which threatens us ; it becomes incurable while prudence is deliberating what remedy to apply. What advantage shall we gain by examining, with minute attention, the examples which have been set before us ? Is it not true that extreme subtilty of reasoning enervates our courage, and prevents the most glorious actions ? Every course of proceeding bears two different faces ; the same politicians, who blame Pompey, for strengthening the power of Cæsar by exasperating him, have applauded the conduct of Cicero in crushing Catiline. The other consequence which may be deduced from these considerations is, that the talents which nature has given us ought not to resemble those faint and useless lights, which glimmer only, and do not warm. They ought rather to resemble the light of the sun which invigorates what it shines upon. Elevated thoughts should be followed by great effects ; and in the execution, as well as in the conception, of this enterprise, your courage should meet with nothing to prevent you from becoming the vanquisher of

monsters, the avenger of crimes, the refuge of the oppressed, the ally of kings, and the umpire of Italy. But if, at the present moment, that semblance of liberty which is yet visible in our republic, should present itself to your mind, I have reason to fear that it will check the course of your ambition ; for I know that a mind as scrupulous as yours and as jealous of honor, will dread the frightful appellations of rebel and traitor.

“ Yet these names of infamy, invented to terrify vulgar minds, attach no disgrace to those who bear them for extraordinary and successful actions. Scruples and greatness have ever been incompatible ; and the weak precepts of common prudence are better adapted to the school of the vulgar than to that of great men. The crime of usurping a crown is so splendid, that it may well pass for a virtue. Every condition of life has its peculiar criterion of reputation. Men in inferior stations ought to be estimated by their moderation ; the great, by their courage and ambition. A miserable pirate, cotemporary with Alexander, who amused himself in capturing little boats, passed for an infamous robber ; and that great conqueror, who wrested kingdoms from their rightful sovereigns, is yet applauded as a hero ; and if Catiline is condemned as a traitor, Cæsar is applauded as the greatest man that ever lived. In short, I have but to bring to your mind, all the princes who reign at present in the world, and ask you if those, from whom they inherit their thrones, were not usurpers.

But if these maxims offend, in the least, your delicacy of principle ; if the love of your country glows in your heart more intensely than the love of glory ; if there yet exists in your bosom some slight regard for the expiring authority of the republic, let us see what honor you will gain by respecting it, when your enemies disregard it ; and whether it would be for your advantage to incur the hazard of becoming their subject. Would to God the republic shone in its pristine splendor ! No person would then, more earnestly than I, dissuade you from the design which I now recommend. If this republic, which now enjoys nothing of liberty but the name, could maintain her authority, feeble as it is, in the condition we now see it, I confess that there would be some reason for enduring our misfortunes with patience ; and that, if it were neither safe nor useful, it would at least, be generous, to sacrifice our personal interests to that shadowy image which yet remains of its liberty : but now, when the arts of Andrew Doria have concentrated all the authority of the republic in himself, and when the arrogance of Giannetino has assumed the control of all its forces ; now, when Genoa has reached that point of time in her existence, when, by that secret but inevitable fatality which prescribes certain limits to the duration of power, a revolution must happen ; now, when the minds of her citizens are too much at variance to live longer under the government of many ; in this extremity, I say, when we cannot banish tyranny but by establishing a legitimate monarchy, what

shall we do? Shall we present our throats to these butchers who, at the same time, seek our ruin and the destruction of liberty? Will the count John Lewis Fiesco witness, with patience, Giannettino Doria proudly ascending the throne of his country, to which his ambition and good fortune encourage him to aspire, without possessing a single qualification that entitles him to it? No, no, my lord, your courage must contend for that honor, an honor which is due to you alone. It is a circumstance at once rare and desirable, to find oneself so situated as to be impelled, as you now are, by regard for the public good and your own glory, to place a crown on your head. Fear not that this action will procure you the reputation of an interested person; on the contrary, nothing but the fear of danger, which is the basest of all passions, can prevent you from undertaking it; and nothing but the love of glory, which is directly opposite to self-interest, is capable of prompting you to so noble a design. If you are so scrupulous that you cannot endure the appearance of blame, what shall prevent you from restoring to your republic the liberty which you will have acquired for her; and from surrendering to her the crown which you will have so highly deserved? Then you will have it in your power to display a signal proof of the contempt with which you regard all motives of interest when they have no connection with honor.

“The only remark which remains for me to make to you is that, in my opinion, you ought not to make

use of the French. Any understanding with foreigners is always extremely odious ; and, in the present conjuncture, an understanding with the French can be of no advantage to you, because, as Calcagno has observed, France is sufficiently occupied in defending herself against the forces of the empire and of Spain, which beset her on every side ; but even could you derive assistance from her, reflect that the change in your condition would be but a change of servitude ; you would become the slave of France, when you may become her ally. Determine, in fine, whether it be the proper course for a man of talents, of merit, and of rank like yourself, to endure every thing and submit to become the victim of the insolence of Doria ; and determine, also, whether you will hazard every thing to throw off the yoke of his tyranny, and expose yourself, without necessity, to become the slave of a foreign power, and remain, as before, in the condition of a private citizen."

Raphael Sacco, who acted as judge in the dominions of the house of Fiesco, and who was the third invited to this council, perceiving that the count inclined decidedly to the sentiments of Verrina, thought it would be useless to controvert them ; and believing also that the project would be extremely hazardous, he was unwilling to advise him to undertake it ; he therefore did not express his sentiments on the subject, referring the decision, as to the main design, entirely to the pleasure of his master. He confined himself to advising merely that, if the enterprise was

resolved upon, the count ought to accept the aid of the French ; observing that it would be gross imprudence not to employ all his credit and all the troops at his command when he hazarded his whole fortune ; that he could not comprehend why he should be advised to oppose himself singly to the forces of the empire, of Spain and of Italy, which would assuredly be united against him ; that it might be possible, perhaps, to gain possession of a city by a conspiracy, but not to acquire the control of a state ; that this could not be effected but in a long course of years, and by means of armies and allies ; and that the idea of seizing on the sovereignty of Genoa, in the present state of European affairs, was a rash resolution, however willing others might be to disguise it under the name of a glorious enterprise. Verrina opposed, with all his power, this reasoning of Raphael Sacco, and reminded the count of the arguments which he had urged on that point, in his discourse. And he now insisted, more earnestly than he had done, that the friendship of princes never outlives their interests ; and that, although the friendship of the house of Austria to the Dorias seemed to be unchangeable, because the latter were useful to the former, yet it would end as soon as they ceased to be so. And moreover, if the emperor should perceive the count to be in a condition to assist or to injure him, he would soon forget the services of others, and solicit his friendship. But if he invited the French to assist him, besides endangering his enterprise by a connection with a

people who soon become weary of every thing, and whose attention to foreign affairs is subject to the frequent revolutions which happen within the kingdom, and depends on the disposition of those who are in office, he would preclude all accommodation with the emperor, whose power in Italy was greater than theirs. It would be in season to solicit the aid of France, after he had ascertained that he could form no alliance with the emperor. In this case, it would be so much the interest of the French not to desert him that they would not fail to assist him, because, while he remained master of Genoa, they would be in constant fear that he would unite with their enemies, if they refused the assistance necessary for his defence. And furthermore, to ensure success there was no necessity for greater forces than those he could furnish himself, for he well knew that there were but two hundred and fifty soldiers in Genoa, and that the galleys of Giannettino Doria were completely disarmed.

These reasons convinced the count, because they were conformable to his natural inclination to glory, and to his greatness of soul, which deemed nothing difficult that was honorable. He resolved to attempt the execution of his design with his own means, and to employ none but the friends and adherents which his illustrious birth, his uncommon affability, his profuse liberality, and all his other good qualities had secured him.

There are many persons, who have merit, courage, and ambition, and who form general resolutions to

raise themselves to high stations, and to improve their condition in the world ; but we meet with few who, having formed these resolutions, know how to choose the proper mode to accomplish them, and who do not sometimes relax in that constant exertion which is necessary to ensure success ; or, when they do exert themselves, it is almost always at an improper time, or in an improper manner, and with too much anxiety for the result. And this is so true that, in affairs of this nature, most men deliberate longer than is necessary before they resolve, but do not allow themselves time enough to execute their determinations. They do not, in season, aim to accommodate their actions to the object they have in view, to regulate all their steps by the plan they have formed, to establish a reputation, to acquire friends, nor, in short, to render all their conduct subservient to their principal design. On the contrary, we often see them suddenly change their course, their minds seem agitated and over-burthened by the secret and the weight of their enterprise, and amidst the changes and irregularity of their conduct, they say or do something which gives an advantage to those who watch them, or offence to their enemies.

The count Fiesco wisely avoided these errors ; for, conscious of an ardent desire for distinction, and persuaded that he should, at some future time, be able to concentrate his general inclination upon some particular design favorable to his elevation, this thought assumed the entire mastery of his faculties ;

and as he had naturally an incredible thirst for glory and great address in establishing a reputation, he so conducted himself that the eminent qualities he displayed, seemed to proceed from his natural disposition, and not to be studied nor affected. His countenance always appeared serene, open, pleasant, and even jovial. He was civil to every body, but made proper and flattering distinctions according to merit and rank ; he was so profuse in his liberality that he anticipated the wants of his friends. Thus he gained the poor by his munificence, and the rich by his courtesy. He faithfully observed his engagements ; he displayed an ardor to oblige which never remitted ; his house was open and his table free to all who came ; he was generous in all things even to excess ; and no one was ever so firmly persuaded as he that avarice, reserve, and pride, obscure the most shining qualities of great men. But what gave an extraordinary lustre to those he possessed was the manly beauty of his person and his graceful and dignified manners, which attested his illustrious birth, and engaged the esteem and respect of all.

This behavior secured, to that degree, the affections of his friends, that not one of those, who promised to serve him, were unfaithful or indiscreet—an extraordinary circumstance, indeed, in a conspiracy, where so many actors and so much secrecy are necessary that, even should no one prove unfaithful, it would be remarkable that no one should be imprudent. But it is still more wonderful that his conduct,

though uniformly such as I have described, and observed by his enemies, did not excite their distrust ; they believing that whatever was too ostentatious in his behavior should be attributed rather to his natural disposition than to any particular design he had formed.

This, without doubt, was one of the causes that induced Andrew Doria to slight the information, concerning the enterprise, which he received from Ferdinand Gonzague and two or three others : I say one of the causes, for, although the behavior of Fiesco contributed to lull the suspicion of this old politician, who was exceedingly jealous of his authority, there must, nevertheless, have been some other cause for this extraordinary blindness. But it is difficult to discover what it was, unless we refer to an overruling providence, which delights in showing the vanity of human prudence, and in confounding the presumption of those who flatter themselves they can divine the most secret thoughts of men, and judge, with infallible certainty, of all human actions. This presumption is never more ridiculous than in those great geniuses whom continued study, profound meditation and long experience have raised so high above common men, and inflated with such self-conceit, that they rely implicitly upon their own judgment, in the most intricate affairs, and listen to the advice of others only to despise it. It is certain that most of those extraordinary men, whom others consult as oracles, and who, in matters which do not concern them, have

a quick insight into futurity, are almost always blind in regard to their own interests. They are more unfortunate than others, for they will not be guided either by their own reason or by that of their friends.

The act of generosity, which most augmented the partisans of Fiesco among the people, was that of affording relief to the silk-spinners, who constituted a considerable portion of the inhabitants of Genoa. They, at that time, suffered extremely from want occasioned by the recent wars. The count, apprised by their consul of their miserable condition, evinced much compassion for their poverty, and requested him to send to his palace those who had the most need of assistance. He supplied them liberally with money and provisions, and requested them to say nothing of the presents he gave them, as he desired no other reward than the internal satisfaction he derived from relieving the afflicted. In dispensing his bounty, he displayed all the courteousness and obliging civility which was natural to him, and gained so entirely the hearts of these poor people, that ever afterwards, they were wholly devoted to his service.

But if, by his generosity, he gained the esteem and love of the lower class of citizens, he did not forget to secure the good will of those at the head of this class, by the praises of liberty which he often, with much address, introduced into his discourse. From this they inferred that, although he belonged to the nobility, he was too reasonable and just not to feel a lively

compassion for the people groaning under the oppression of their rulers.

There are some who accuse the republic of indiscretion on this occasion, and maintain that it was extremely imprudent, in the senate, to suffer the count thus to conciliate every body, and to take such means to gain the hearts of his fellow-citizens. I cannot deny that the maxim, on which this accusation is founded, has been considered correct by subtle and refined politicians : its object being to prevent private individuals from acquiring great influence, it may, with some reason, be thought that its effect will be to promote the general safety ; but I am convinced it is an erroneous maxim, for it changes the nature of good qualities, rendering them hurtful or dangerous to the possessor. I consider it even pernicious, because, exposing merit to suspicion, it stifles the seeds of virtue, and creates such a disgust for the pursuit of glory, that men will not zealously undertake to perform meritorious actions, and will be diverted, by the fear of offending the government, from those which might be useful to the state. It happens, also, that, instead of confining bold and intrepid men within the limits of that equality which it inculcates, it sometimes impels them to give a freer course to their ambition, and to take violent measures to relieve themselves from restraint so tyrannical.

The count did not rely so implicitly upon the good will of the populace as to neglect to secure the aid of soldiers, who are essentially necessary in enterprises

of this nature. In the beginning of the summer, he left Genoa, apparently to visit his estates, but in reality to ascertain what number of men who had served in war, could be found among his vassals, and to train them in martial exercises, upon the pretence that he apprehended an attack from the duke of Placentia. He wished also to give the necessary orders for executing the design he had formed, of introducing secretly, and at the proper time, a number of his partisans into Genoa, and to ascertain the sentiments of the duke, who engaged to furnish him two thousand of his best troops.

The count, returning about the end of autumn, continued to behave as he had done, and moreover practised a profound dissimulation, in regard to the family of Doria ; professing, on every occasion, a great veneration for Andrew, and cordial friendship for Giannettino. His motive was to convince the world that their recent divisions were entirely adjusted, and to show them that his friendship was sincere, and might be relied on.

If it is true that the count, on the day of the execution of his enterprise, said that he had long before been informed that Giannettino had resolved on his ruin, and that this violent and wicked man, who was kept in restraint only by Andrew, perceiving that his uncle was subject to dangerous infirmities, had commanded captain Lercaro to despatch all who belonged to the family of Fiesco, the moment he should die ; that he had authentic letters by which he could

prove, that this same Giannetino had attempted, three several times, to poison him ; and that he was, besides, assured that the emperor intended to confer on him the sovereignty of Genoa ; if, I say, all this is true, I do not think the dissimulation of the count can justly be blamed ; for, when life or the safety of our country is at stake, frankness is a virtue out of season, nature teaching us, by the instinct of the smallest animals, that, in such extremities, the use of stratagem to preserve ourselves from danger, and our country from oppression, is justifiable and proper.

But if the accusations of the count were only calumnies against the family of Doria, invented to justify his designs, and to exasperate the people, it cannot be denied that these false tokens of friendship, indicative of so much affection, were artifices unworthy of his great courage. And it would, without doubt, be difficult to justify such conduct, except by the necessity which the power and insolence of Giannetino imposed upon him to behave in this manner.

The count had bought four gallies, which he maintained, under the name of his brother Jerome, with funds furnished by the pope. Convinced that the step most essential to the success of his design was to render himself master of the port, he ordered one of these gallies to Genoa, pretending that he intended to despatch it, on a cruise, to the Levant ; and, at the same time, he, without exciting suspicion, introduced into the city, a party of soldiers who came from his estates, and from the duchy of Placentia,

some of them passing for soldiers of the garrison, some for adventurers in quest of employment, some for sailors, and many even for galley slaves.

Verrina artfully dispersed, among the companies belonging to the city, fifteen or twenty soldiers who were vassals of the count, and corrupted others belonging to the garrison. He obtained, from persons of the most enterprise and influence among the people, promises of every assistance they could render, to execute a design which, as he told them, he had formed against some of their enemies. Calcagno and Sacco, on their part, labored with diligence and industry; and I cannot better describe the address, with which these four persons managed this enterprise, than by saying that, without disclosing the real object to any one, they engaged in their service more than ten thousand men.

Matters being thus arranged, nothing remained but to select a day for the execution of the enterprise; and this was found somewhat difficult. Verrina was of opinion that the two Dorias, Adam Centurione, and such of the nobility as were attached to that party, should be invited to attend a mass to be celebrated by a priest of distinction, being the first time he officiated, when it was usual to invite persons of rank to be present; and he offered to kill them himself. This proposition was instantly rejected by the count, who, struck with horror, exclaimed that he would never consent to profane the holiest mystery of his religion to facilitate the success of his design. It was

then proposed that they should take the opportunity of the marriage of a sister of Giannettino Doria with Julius Cibo, marquis of Massa, a brother-in-law of the count ; and they concluded their design could then be executed with ease, as the count would have a pretence for inviting all the relations of that family to an entertainment, where he might massacre them at once. But the generous feelings of the count, as many assert, and as may be easily believed of a man of his disposition, impelled him also to reject the practice of such treachery ; yet the partisans of Doria have asserted that he had determined to make use of this opportunity, but that Giannettino being obliged, on that day, to leave Genoa on business, he altered his purpose. At length, after much deliberation, the night of the second of January was selected, and to this effect the necessary orders were judiciously given, Verrina, Calcagno and Sacco directing those they had engaged. The count caused a great quantity of arms to be brought to his house ; he sent persons to examine the posts of which he had resolved to take possession ; he introduced, by small numbers at a time, and without noise, into a building contiguous to his palace, the soldiers who were destined to execute the first part of the enterprise ; and the day having arrived, he, to conceal his design, visited many of his friends, and even went, in the evening, to the palace of Doria. There, observing the children of Giannettino, he took them one by one in his arms, and caressed them a long time, in the presence

of their father, whom he requested to give orders to the commander of his gallies not to interpose any obstacle to the departure of his own galley, which was to set sail, that evening, for the Levant. He took leave of him, with the ordinary civilities ; and, when returning home, he stopped at the house of Thomas Assereto, where he found upwards of thirty gentlemen who were popular in the city, and whom Verrina had the address to collect at that place. These he invited to sup with him at his palace. He then sent Verrina throughout the city, to the senate house, and to the palace of Doria, to ascertain whether any one had knowledge or suspicion of his design ; and after having learned that every thing was quiet as usual, he gave orders that the doors of his palace should be shut, that all should nevertheless be admitted, who expressed a wish to see him, but that no one should be permitted to go out.

Perceiving that those whom he had invited as guests were extremely surprised to find, instead of a feast which they expected, nothing but arms, persons unknown to them, and soldiers, he requested them to repair to a large hall, where, displaying in his countenance a lofty and confident courage, he thus addressed them :

“ My friends, it is too much to endure the insolence of Giannetino, and the tyranny of Andrew Doria. If we wish to secure our lives and our liberty from the danger which threatens them, we have not a moment to lose. Is there one here who can be ignorant, that

the republic is in imminent peril? To what use, do you imagine, are destined the twenty gallies that besiege your harbor? For what purpose have so many troops been collected, so many arrangements made? Behold them ready to triumph over our patience, and to raise their unjust authority upon the ruins of the state. We must no longer deplore our sufferings in secret; we must hazard every thing to obtain deliverance. As the distemper is violent, so also must be the remedy; and if the fear of falling into a state of degrading servitude can have any effect upon your minds, it is incumbent on you to make an effort to break your chains, and to anticipate those who wish to fasten them forever upon you; for I cannot imagine that you are capable of enduring any longer the injustice of the uncle, and the arrogance of the nephew. I do not believe, I say, that there is one among you of a temper to submit to those as masters, who ought to be content to be your equals. Even were we regardless of the safety of the republic, we cannot be of our own. Each one of us has too many wrongs to revenge; and our vengeance will be, at the same time, legitimate and glorious; for our private resentments mingle with our zeal for the public good, and we cannot abandon our own interests without betraying those of our country. It depends upon you alone to secure her safety, and your own; you have only to resolve to be happy, and you will be so. I have provided against every thing which could obstruct your success; I have opened to you the career

of glory, and I am ready to show you the way, if you are disposed to follow. These preparations which you witness, ought, at this time, to animate you more than they have surprised you ; and the astonishment which I observed, at first, on your countenance, ought to change to the glorious resolution to employ, with vigor, these arms to effect the destruction of our common enemies, and the establishment of our independence. I should insult your courage, if I imagined you capable, after seeing these arms, of hesitating, an instant, what use you ought to make of them. Success is rendered sure by the perfect arrangements I have made ; it will be beneficial from the advantages you will receive ; it will be just by reason of the oppressions you endure ; and it will, in fine, be glorious from the grandeur of the enterprise. I could prove, by these letters which you now see, that the emperor has promised to bestow on Andrew Doria, the sovereignty of Genoa, and that he is prepared to execute his promise. I could show, by other letters which I have in my possession, that Giannettino has attempted, three several times, to suborn wretches to poison me. It would be easy to convince you that he has given orders to Lercaro to assassinate me and all my family, the instant his uncle dies. But the knowledge of these treacherous intentions, detestable and infamous as they are, would add nothing to the horror with which you already regard these monsters. Methinks I see your eyes sparkle with that noble ardor which demands honorable vengeance. I perceive

you are more impatient than I to give entire license to your resentment, to secure your property, your repose, and the honor of your families. Let us then, my dear fellow citizens, save the reputation of Genoa ; let us preserve the independence of our country ; and let us show the whole world that there yet exists, in this republic, good men who have the heart to bring tyrants to destruction."

This discourse astonished the assembly, but as almost all of them were ardent in their attachment to the count, and as some of them, in addition to this attachment, felt exalted hopes of advantage in case the enterprise succeeded, and others feared his resentment if they refused to follow his fortunes, they promised to serve him to the utmost of their power. Two only of the whole number, either because their peaceful occupations or timorous dispositions rendered them incapable (as they said) of serving in an enterprise where many dangers were to be encountered and many murders committed, or because they felt a sincere attachment to the family of Doria, or some of his party, which they concealed under the appearance of timidity, prayed to be excused from engaging in the project. The count urged them no farther, but contented himself with confining them to deprive them of the power of revealing his design. The mildness with which he treated these two persons prevents me from believing, what several historians, hostile to his reputation, have published, that in his discourse to the assembly he uttered nothing but threats against

those who should refuse to assist him ; and I think we may, with reason, form the same opinion, in regard to the impious and cruel expressions, which they accuse him of having used, on the evening of the execution of his enterprise. For is it probable that a man of his condition, born with an ardent inclination to acquire glory, could have permitted his passions to betray him into the use of expressions which cannot be recollected but with horror, and which could not, in any manner, have been useful to his designs ? However the fact may be, as soon as he had finished his address to the assembly, and explained to them the arrangements he had made, he repaired to the apartment of his wife. As she suspected that the great preparations which had been made in the palace, were destined, by her husband, for some dangerous enterprise, he found her in tears. He therefore thought that he ought no longer to conceal from her his intentions, but he endeavored to calm her apprehensions by all the arguments he could devise, representing to her how far he had proceeded, and that it was impossible now to retreat. She made all imaginable efforts to divert him from his undertaking, exerting all the influence which his affection gave her over his mind. But neither her tears nor her prayers could shake his resolution. Paul Pansa, who had been his tutor, and for whom he felt a high veneration, united with the countess, and omitted nothing to recal him to the observance of the duties of a good citizen, nor to convince him of the hazard he incur-

red in pursuing his object. The count was as little influenced by the advice of his tutor, as he had been by the caresses and tears of his wife. He had (as is said of Cæsar) passed the Rubicon; and, returning to the hall, where he had left his guests, he gave the last orders for the execution of his enterprise. He commanded one hundred and fifty men, chosen from the whole body of soldiers, to go that part of the city called the Burough, whither he was to follow them, accompanied by the nobility. He ordered Cornelius, his illegitimate brother, as soon as they had arrived at the Burough, to take thirty of this number, and gain possession of the gate of the arch. Jerome and Ottoban, his brothers, with Vincent Calcagno, were directed to take possession of that of St. Thomas, at the instant they heard the cannon of Fiesco's galley. This galley was commanded by Verrina, and was in readiness to close the entrance into the dock, and to invest the gate of Doria's palace. The count was to repair, by land, to this gate, after having, with as little noise as possible, placed, on his way, detachments at St. Andrew's and St. Donat's arches, and at the square des Sauvages. Thomas Assereto was commanded to seize this gate, giving the countersign, which he could easily know, as he held an office under Giannetino Doria. As this was the most important part of the enterprise, because, if it did not succeed, those who were in the count's galley could have no communication with the other conspirators, it was thought expedient, to ensure success, that Scipio

Borgognino, one of the count's vassals and an intrepid soldier, should force his way, with armed feluccas, into the dock, and land on that side, at the moment when Assereto should make the attack on the other. It was also determined that, as soon as Jerome and Ottoban Fiesco had become masters of St. Thomas' gate, which was near Doria's palace, one of them should force his way into the palace and kill Andrew and Giannetino; and as there was reason to believe that Giannetino, awakened by the noise at the gates, might throw himself into Lewis Julia's felucca and hasten thither to give orders, three armed feluccas were stationed there to prevent it. To these particular orders a general one was added, that all the conspirators should call to the people with the name of Fiesco, and cry *Liberty*, in order that those citizens, of whose attachment they were well assured, might not be deceived, and that, knowing the count was the leader of the enterprise, they might join his party.

It is not easy to decide whether it would not have been more advantageous and safe to have kept united in one body all these troops, who were despatched to positions distant from each other. Their number was sufficiently large to authorise the belief that, if they had entered the city at one place, they would have driven all before them, and would, wherever they went, have induced the people to join the victorious party; but, being divided, they could act but feebly, were liable to commit mistakes, and to be defeated,

one division after another ; for nothing is more true than that it requires uncommon exactness to assign the precise moment for several combined attacks, and unusual good fortune for all to succeed alike. On these occasions, so many arms and so many heads must concur in the same action, that the least error in one often disconcerts all the rest, as the disorder of a single wheel may stop the motion of the greatest machine. And furthermore it would be very surprising if, in the night and amidst the tumult which generally accompanies attempts of this kind, either the courage or the discretion of some one of the conspirators should not fail him, and that, dreading the danger which was near more than that which was remote, he should not repent his engagement ; but when all march in a body, example animates and encourages the most timid, who are drawn onward by the multitude, and do from necessity what the brave do from courage.

Those who adopt the opposite opinion maintain that, in enterprises of this kind which are executed by night, in a city where the conspirators act in concert with many others, where most of the inhabitants are favorably disposed, and where they may gain possession of the principal posts before their enemies are in a condition to contend with them, it is more advisable to form several parties, and make separate attacks, in many places ; because, by giving, at the same time, several alarms, in distant parts, those who act on the defensive are obliged to divide their forces,

without knowing how many to detach, and the terror, which these sudden alarms generally occasion, is much greater when the noise proceeds from every quarter than when attention is called to only one ; besides, where the streets are narrow, like those of Genoa, a small number can effect all that a larger can, and ten men, attacked in front, with the help of a slight barricade, may stop a hundred times as many of the bravest soldiers, and gain time for those who are behind to rally. In fine, those who are of this opinion think that, in an enterprise like this, it is less advantageous to the conspirators, they having the good will of a majority of the citizens, to unite their forces in one body, than to disperse them into different parts of the city ; because then the whole are aroused at once, and they take arms the more readily when they perceive others do the same, and are more capable of rendering service when they act with regular troops and have persons of credit to lead them.

All these reasons being impartially considered, it is my opinion that the count conducted judiciously ; for it appears to me that, on this occasion, he had less reason than is commonly the case to fear the inconveniences just mentioned. His party was composed, not merely of soldiers and nobles, but also of a multitude of citizens, upon whose attachment he relied ; so that, having numerous friends in all parts of Genoa, he had reason to believe that the garrison, which was extremely weak, and those who were not friendly to him, could not oppose any obstacle to the

success of his design, nor make sufficient resistance to dishearten those who should join his party. For these reasons, when he left his palace, he divided his men according to the plan he had devised ; and, at the moment when the report of the cannon on board his galley, which had been appointed as the signal, was heard, Cornelius surprised the guard stationed at the gate of the arch, and gained possession of it without difficulty. Ottoban and Jerome, brothers of the count, accompanied by Calcagno and sixty soldiers, found more resistance at St. Thomas' Gate, where Captain Sebastian Lercaro, and his brother, for a considerable time, maintained their post. But the latter being killed, and the former taken, and some of their men, who had been previously gained, having declared in favor of Fiesco, the guard fled, abandoning their post to the conspirators. Giannettino Doria, awakened either by the tumult at the gate, or by the outcry which, at the same time, was made in the harbor, rose in haste ; and accompanied only by a page, who carried a flambeau before him, he ran to St. Thomas' gate, where, being recognized by the conspirators, he was killed as soon as he arrived.

This precipitancy of Giannettino saved Andrew Doria's life, and gave him time to mount a horse and retire fifteen miles from Genoa ; for Jerome, who had been directed by his brother to force the palace of Doria, the instant he was master of St. Thomas' gate, seeing that Giannettino was killed, preferred the preservation of the immense riches which were in the

palace, and which he could not easily have saved from the soldiers, to the capture of Andrew Doria, whom he considered an inefficient old man, that it would be useless to sacrifice.

In the midst of these occurrences at the gate of St. Thomas, Assereto and Scipio Borgognino executed the orders which had been given them with complete success. They killed all who made any resistance at the gate by the dock, and pressed the rest with such vigor that they had not time to rally, and at last they took possession of that important post.

The count, after having, on his way, posted detachments at the places he considered the most important, arrived at the dock, the entrance to which he found unobstructed, and joined Verrina, who had already, with his galley, attacked those of prince Doria. They were almost destitute of arms, and he took possession of them with ease; but fearing that, in this confusion, the crew of the admiral's galley, where he heard considerable noise, would rise upon their guard, he hastened to give orders concerning it; and, when he was on the point of entering that galley, the plank on which he passed overturned, and he fell into the sea. His armor, which was heavy, and the mud, which in this place was deep, prevented him from rising again to the surface: and the darkness of the night, and the noise on every side, concealed from those around him all knowledge of the accident; so that, without knowing the loss they had sustained, they continued their exertions, and

at length gained possession of the harbor and the gallees.

Ottoban, who, after executing the duty first assigned him, had repaired to this place, remained there to command ; and Jerome, who had followed him, posting Vincent Calcagno at the gate of St. Thomas, left the harbor, with two hundred men, to arouse the populace in the streets, and rally around him as many as he could. Verrina did the same in another direction, and both having collected a multitude of people, no one dared to appear without declaring for Fiesco. The greater part of the nobility remained shut up at home during the commotion, each fearing the plunder of his house ; the most courageous repaired to the senate house, accompanied by the imperial ambassador, who was on the point of flying from the city, but was prevented by the remonstrances of Paul Lasagna, a man much respected by the people. Cardinal Doria, and Adam Centurione went thither also, and they, with Nicholas Franco, the chief of the republic, there being then no duke, resolved to despatch Boniface Lomellino, Christopher Pallavicini, and Anthony Calva, with fifty soldiers of the garrison, to the defence of St. Thomas' Gate. But these, having met a body of the conspirators, and being deserted by a part of their number, were obliged to retire into the house of Adam Centurione. Finding there Francis Grimaldi, Dominic Doria, and several other gentlemen, they resumed their courage and returned, by a different route, to the gate. But they found it so

well guarded, and were attacked with such vigor, that they retreated, leaving Boniface Lomellino prisoner, who distinguished himself, in this action, by his courage, and happily escaped from the conspirators.

The Senate having found that nothing could be effected by force, had recourse to remonstrances. They deputed Jerome de Fiesco, a relation of the count, and Jerome Canevale to demand the reason of this commotion ; and immediately after, Cardinal Doria, who was allied to him, together with John Baptist Lercaro, and Bernard Castagna, both senators, resolved, at the desire of the senate, to go and speak to the count and endeavor to appease him. But, perceiving that every thing was in such confusion that, if he ventured into the city, he should, without any prospect of advantage, expose his dignity to the insolence of a furious populace, he declined leaving the senate house. The senate then gave the same commission to Augustine Lomellino, Hector Fiesco, Ansaldo Justiniani, Ambrose Spinola, and John Balliano, who, perceiving a party of armed men coming towards them, supposed the count was among them, and stopped at St. Siro to wait for him. As soon as the conspirators saw them, they attacked them, and made Lomellino and Hector Fiesco flee. Ansaldi Justiniani stood firm, and, addressing Jerome, who led the party, he enquired, in the name of the republic, for the count. The conspirators had just learnt that he was dead. Verrina, after having, for a long time, sought him in vain, had returned to his

galley in despair, hearing from all quarters that he was no where to be found. Jerome, therefore, boldly and very imprudently answered Justiniani, that it was now too late to seek for any count but himself, and demanded that the palace should be instantly surrendered to him.

The senate, discovering from this reply that the count was dead, resumed their courage, and sent twelve gentlemen to rally as many of the guard, and of the people, as they could put in a posture of defence. Some, even of those most ardently attached to Fiesco, began to be alarmed. Many, who had not so much affection for Jerome as they had had for his brother, nor so much confidence in his talents, dispersed the moment they heard of his death. Confusion entering the party of the conspirators, those in the senate house perceived it, and deliberated whether they should attack them, or negotiate with them. The first course was proposed as the most honorable, but the last was adopted as the most safe. Paul Pansa, a man of high consideration in the republic, and constant in his attachment to the family of Fiesco, was selected as the most proper agent for this purpose. The senate instructed him to offer to Jerome a full pardon for himself and all his accomplices. He consented, by the persuasions of Pansa, to accept these terms ; and the pardon was signed and sealed, with all the requisite formalities, by Ambrose Senaregua, the secretary of the republic. Jerome thereupon left Genoa, accompanied by his whole party, and

retired to Montobio. Ottoban, Verrina, Calcagno, and Sacco, who had escaped in Fiesco's galley, took the route towards France, and after sending back unhurt Lercaro, Manfredo, Centurione and Vaccaro, whom they had taken at St. Thomas' gate, they arrived at Marseilles. At the end of four days, the body of the count was found, and having been exposed for a short time, on the shore, was thrown into the sea by the order of Andrew Doria. Benedict Centurione and Dominic Doria were sent to Andrew to condole with him, in the name of the republic, on the death of Giannettino, and to conduct him again to the city, where he was received with all imaginable honors. He went the next day to the senate, and in a violent speech, which he took care should be supported by his friends, he represented that the republic was not bound to abide by the agreement which had been made with the Fiescos, because it had been concluded contrary to all precedent, and signed, as it were, sword in hand. He dwelt on the danger of permitting subjects to treat, in this manner, with their sovereign ; and insisted that to suffer a crime of this magnitude to pass unpunished would be an example fatal to the republic. In short, Andrew Doria concealed, with so much address, his private views under the veil of public good, and exerted so efficiently his authority to accomplish his desire of vengeance, that, although many could not approve such a violation of the public faith, the senate nevertheless declared all the conspirators guilty of high treason, ordered the mag-

nificent palace of Fiesco to be razed to the ground, condemned to death his brothers and the leaders of his party, banished, for fifty years, all who had the least concern in the enterprise, and decreed that Jerome Fiesco should be ordered to surrender to the republic the fortress of Montobio. The last decree was not so easy to be executed as the others ; and as the place was strong, as well by its situation as its fortifications, upon which the conspirators were constantly at work, they resolved, before they resorted to force, the success of which is always doubtful, to try all gentle means of inducing the Fiescos to surrender it. Paul Pansa was directed to repair thither immediately, and to offer reasonable conditions to Jerome, on the part of the republic ; but he made no other reply than reproaches for the violation of their solemn engagements, and an indignant refusal to enter into any treaty with the Genoese. The emperor, fearing that the French would obtain possession of this fortress, which is highly important to the safety of Genoa, urged the senate to besiege it, and furnished, for this purpose, all necessary assistance. Augustine Spinola, a commander of high reputation, invested the place, cannonaded it for forty days, and compelled those who were within it to surrender at discretion.

Some historians accuse Verrina, Calcagno and Sacco, who had returned from France, where they had been disgusted with the cold reception they had met with, of having advised Jerome to conclude a ca-

pitulation so little honorable to his courage. The capture of the place was the cause of new distractions in the republic, the senators differing in opinion with regard to the punishment of the prisoners. Many, inclined to be merciful, were in favor of pardoning Jerome, on account of his youth ; and insisted that the family of Fiesco had been sufficiently punished by the death of the count and the confiscation of all his property ; but the hatred of Andrew Doria prevailed once more over the clemency of the senate ; he procured a decree to be passed that Jerome Fiesco, Verrina, Calcagno, and Assereto should be executed, and one still more detestable against Ottoban, which prohibited his posterity, to the fifth generation, from approaching Genoa.

Here let us stop, and consider particularly all that happened in the execution of this great design. Let us, if possible, deduce, from the numerous errors which we may perceive, examples of human weakness ; and let us acknowledge that this enterprise, which in its conception was a masterpiece of human courage and subtlety, exhibited in its progress and termination the ordinary effects of the meanness and imperfection of our nature. How disgraceful it was in Andrew Doria to abandon the city, at the very beginning of the disturbance, without making the slightest effort to quell, by his authority, the tumult of the populace ! What infatuation to disregard the information, which came to him from several sources, of the design of the count ! What imprudence in Giannettino

to go alone, in the darkness of night, to the gate of St. Thomas, to appease a commotion, which he had no reason to despise, being ignorant of the cause ! What cowardice in Cardinal Doria, who dared not leave the senate house to awe the people by the dignity of his station ! What imprudence in the senate to neglect assembling, on the first alarm, all their forces, to check the progress of the conspirators, merely sending small detachments, which could effect nothing important ! And how ridiculous, in fine, it was to attempt to recal to his duty, by remonstrances, an avowed rebel, with arms in his hands and superior in force ! But having concluded a formal treaty, by what maxim can the senate be justified for violating the public faith so solemnly pledged to Jerome and Ottoban ? If the apprehension of similar treatment may be advantageous to a state, by restraining, within the bounds of duty, those who have an inclination to revolt, it may also be pernicious, by depriving of all hope of pardon those who have revolted. And it is, indeed, difficult to comprehend, why those politicians, who were considered able men, were not apprehensive of driving to despair, by this example, Jerome Fiesco, who still held the rock of Montobio, which he might surrender into the hands of foreigners, and the loss of which must have been followed by the destruction of Genoa.

But if those, of whom we have just spoken, committed remarkable faults, it may, with equal truth, be said, that the conspirators committed even greater,

after they had lost their chief. His valor and prudence, which animated and directed his party, vanishing at his death, confusion ensued, which completed their ruin. Jerome, who ought, for many reasons, to have concealed the death of his brother, was the first to announce it, and thereby revived the courage of his enemies, and threw dismay into the ranks of his friends. Ottoban, Verrina, Calcagno and Sacco, who escaped in the galley, set at liberty, almost as soon as they had left Genoa, the prisoners they had made, without reflecting that they might be of great use in effecting their accommodation. Verrina, when informed of the death of the count, fled, and shamefully abandoned an important enterprise to the direction of Jerome, who had neither sufficient experience, nor sufficient authority over the conspirators, to complete it. This same Jerome made a treaty with the senate, and consented to return to the condition of a private citizen, after having been on the point of becoming a sovereign. He afterwards made a disgraceful capitulation in Montobio, confiding in the faith of those who had already violated their engagements. Verrina, Calcagno and Sacco, the principal actors in this conspiracy, and the most criminal of all the accomplices of the count, persuaded Jerome, from the hope of impunity which they indulged, to commit this unworthy action, preferring rather to run the hazard of dying by the hands of an executioner, than to meet an honorable death in a breach.

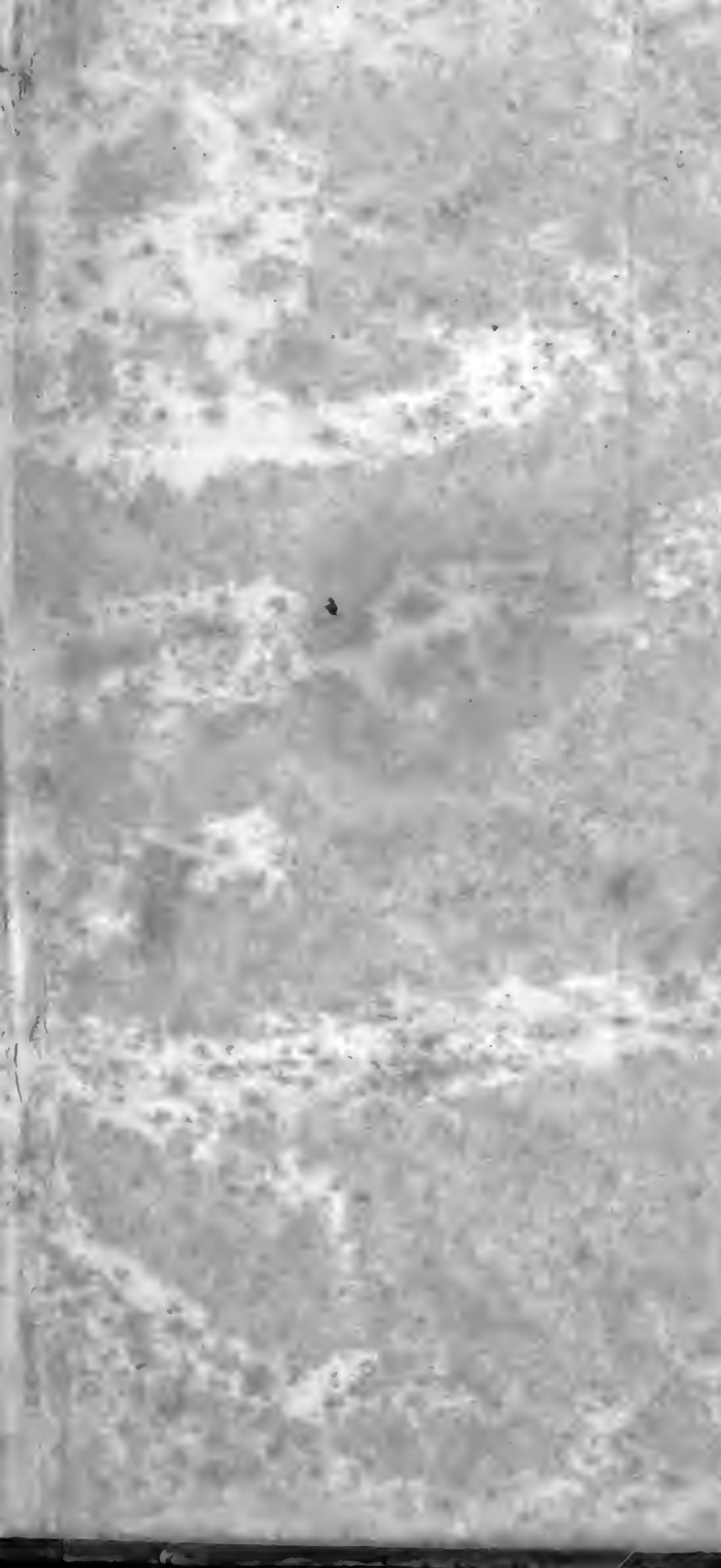
Thus terminated this great enterprise ; thus died

John Lewis Fiesco, count of Lavagna, whom some honor with splendid eulogiums, whom others censure, and whom many excuse. If we regard the maxim, which commands us always to respect the actual government under which we live, his ambition, without doubt, was criminal ; if we consider his courage, and the brilliant qualities which shone forth in the management of his enterprise, it appears noble and generous ; if we regard the power of the Dorias which gave him good reason to apprehend the ruin of the republic and of himself, it appears excusable. But in whatever manner it may be spoken of, the most prejudiced cannot deny that all the ill they can say of him may also be said of the most illustrious men. He was born in a small state, where all subordinate stations were beneath his aspirations and his merit ; the restlessness natural to his countrymen, ever inclined to novelty, the elevation of his own mind, his youth, his immense wealth, the number and the adulation of his friends, the attachment of the people, the respect shown him by foreign princes, and, in fine, the esteem of all men, were circumstances peculiarly adapted to inspire with ambition a mind less ardent than his. The result of his enterprise was one of those accidents which human wisdom cannot foresee. Had his success been equal to the vigor and talent he displayed, his courage and destiny might have raised him higher than the sovereignty of Genoa ; and those who, since his death, have vilified his memory, would have been, while he lived, the first to sing his

praises. Those authors who, to gratify the hatred of the Dorias, and to justify the senate for their breach of faith, have aspersed him with the blackest calumnies, would then have composed his panegyric, and posterity would have placed him in the number of the heroes of his age. So true it is, that good or ill success is the ordinary criterion by which praise or censure is applied to extraordinary actions. Nevertheless, I think it may be said, consistently with the duty of a historian who pronounces judgment upon the reputations of men, that nothing was wanting to establish that of John Lewis Fiesco but a longer life, and more just occasions of acquiring glory.

FINIS.





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